

Syn. 7. 60. 477

A  
HISTORIE CON-  
taining the VVarres, Treaties, Mar-  
riages, and other occurrents betweene

England and Scotland, from King William the  
Conqueror, untill the happy Vnion of them  
both in our gracious King JAMES.

With a briefe declaration of the first Inhabitants of this  
Island: And what severall Nations haue since set-  
led them-selves therein one after an other:



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TO THE PRINCE.



**M**OST sweete Prince Plinie in  
his Preface  
to his na-  
turall hi-  
storie.  
(giue mee leaue to sa-  
lute you, reseruing the  
title of *Great* to your  
royall Father, as *Plinie* the worlds  
Historifier saluted *Titus*, whome  
the Senate and People called *Or-  
bis amorem*, and *Delicias humani ge-  
neris*.) This Booke at first intended  
to do you honour, cometh now to  
beg some honour of you. Intended  
to do you honour, by reuiuing and  
bringing to fresh memorie, the  
many leagues and happy mariages  
be-



To the Prince.

betweene the two kingdomes of  
this Iland : to worke a better con-  
ceit of either to other, then I found  
in most men, for the more easie &  
harty receiuing ( in the fulnesse of  
time ) of your excellent house, the  
common bloud of both nations, to  
raigne ouer vs : but that we might  
readily and ioyfully imbrace that,  
which many ages had sought, none  
found, and now was *gratis* offered  
vnto vs. But while I vvas framing  
this vvorke to this end, the vn-  
expected time preuented my de-  
signes : and let me see how farre  
Gods vvifdome and goodnesse ex-  
ceeds poore mens mistie cogita-  
tions and deuises, filling our soules  
vvith comfort, by the generall ap-  
plause of all men, for the most  
happy

Shame and  
confusion to  
the ingra-  
tis.

*To the Prince.*

happy issue of so dangerous an alteration in our state . Since which time , my Booke hath lien neglected as needlesse to the world, his end attained, and date expired.

Yet for as much as some of my friends doe censure mee for suppressing that which may do some good seruice ( though not the great principally intended ) when it is now entring the view of men, it commeth first to beg this honour of you , to grace the *frontispice* with your most Gracious name, and sheild it with your patronage . And since by your Princely and powrefull aspect ( without deminution of his super-eminent Maiestie , whence



*To the Prince.*

you deriue it) you resemble the  
Sunne in the firmament, which  
receaueth light from none (the  
Creator excepted) but giueth  
light and life to all inferiour bo-  
dies : vouchsafe the beames of  
your fauour vpon it, to illustrate  
the obscuritie of the Author, and  
the meanesse of the worke. So  
shall my heart be more inflamed  
(if yet that be possible) with your  
loue, and my booke more wel-  
come to all mens reading. I rest  
euer to be commanded by your  
Highnesse.

EDWARD ARSCV.



## To the Reader.

**I** Haue here (curteous reader) vndertaken to set downe in a continued discourse, whatsoeuer hath passed betweene England & Scotland from the last Conquest, vntill the de- cease of our late Soueraigne (neuer to be forgot- ten) the renowned Elizabeth. My trauel consisteth wholly in this, that I haue reduced into an entire History, a true report of things passed which al other writers before me (as farre as I know) haue deliuered onely by partes and peece- meales: whereby you may with more delight and facility conceiue and digest the coherence of the whole, and withall carrie the matter the better in memory. The chiefe & principal rea- son which mooued mee to take this taske vpon me, I shall not neede to speake of in this place, hauing



## To the Reader.

having touched it before in my Epistle to the Prince, and made it so apparent throughout my whole Booke, as that the reader may decerne it running. For though the right and title of King Iames was pregnant enough, and even palpable to euery valgar capacitie: Neuerthelesse what reason the best affected to the same had, to forecast some perill in his Maiesties accessse and passage vnto it, the sequell hath declared. But it pleased the Lord our good God (the disposer of mens wills and affections so to worke in the heartes of our grane and most prudent Senate, as by them he brought that to passe, within the tearme of very few howers, which (if the aduersaries vnto our happinesse had had their wils) would not in so many monthes, nay happily yeares haue bin attained vnto. For, did they not by proclaiming his Maiesty in tempore oportuno, without delay preuent the malice of those two raging Bulls (not of Bashan; but of Typical Babilō, that is to say Rome) whose pestiferous breath might otherwise haue poisoned and infected we know not how many malecontents and seditious Romanistes. Against

Reuel. 18.

the

## To the Reader.

the former King Dauid alone complained, but Psal. 22.  
of the latter how many Kings & Emperors shal  
we read of, that haue bin fronted and foyled, ma-  
ny brought downe to their knees, others laid  
groueling on their faces, some thrust out of their  
Kingdōes, & some gored euen vnto death. But Psal. 23.  
(O Lord) saue thy people & giue thy bles-  
sing vnto thine inheritance. &c. An other  
reason ayming at the same end was this. That  
wheras the Chronicles of both Nations containe  
matter of reproach and disgrace one against the  
other: I haue had an especiall care to carry my  
selfe so indifferently betweene them as I hope  
neither of both shall haue iust cause to take of-  
fence therat. So as in that respect if any at all  
may be admitted (which none I thinke will op-  
pugne) then shall this of mine haue priueledge  
before all other that I know. Since wee al  
now happily become Subiects vnto one most  
gratious Soueraigne, let vs value one the others  
vertues at one and the same price, and setting  
apart all partialitie, detraction, and vaine glo-  
ry, let vs deuide the true honour and glorie  
attayned on both sides indifferētly betweene vs.

Are



## To the Reader.

Are we not all (for the most part) the broode and off-spring of the same parents, the auntient English Saxons? what preheminence then shall wee giue to the one Nation aboue the other? Admit the Englishmen haue beene victorious in more battailes, haue entred more often and passed further in Hostile manner into the others Countries and dominions, and haue gotten greater booties both by Land and Sea: what then? is not this our Nation farre more populous and plentifull of all store of prouision and complements pertayning to warre? Whereof then shall wee boast? These vauntes are therefore full of vanitie: Let vs now contende who shall giue more sincere and acceptable praise and thanks to the Almighty, who in loue to both hath now at length made vs of two discording Nations one peaceable people vnder one Prince, not by conquest (the mother of confusion) but by an happy seede and off-spring proceeding from the successe of marriage, his holy ordinance: Whereby the memory of all fore-passed displeasures and vnkindnesse is buried in perpetual obliuion. Many haue longed & laboured to worke  
this

## To the Reader.

this blessed Vnion. How many lost their liues in the ouer vehement pursute of the intended marriage betweene King Edward the sixt, and Mary the late Queene of Scottes: the successe whereof, if it had beene effected, was much to be doubted. But the Eternall God in his wisdom reſerued this notable worke to a more fit season, for the good especially of his Church, hauing now not onely vniited vs vnder the externall and ciuill gouernment of a terrestriall Monarchy, but also in a sincere obedience and right seruice of himselfe vnder the spirituall raigne of his eternall Sonne our Lord Iesus Christ, the Almighty Monarch ouer Heauen and Earth. What Nation now in the whole world hath generally intertayned and submitted it selfe to the obedience of the written word (deliuered of more auncient time by the Prophets of God, and lastly by the Sonne of God himselfe and his Apostles) but this our happy Island? These holy bookes we receiue for the onely infallible Oracles of God, what is more (concerning our Saluation) we reiect as Superstitious and Derogatory to the euerlasting word of God: What is lesse wee hold ouer weake  
and



## To the Reader.

and Imperfect: let Pope and Potentate, the whole power of Antichrist doe their worst, the Lord by this Union hath now established that peace to his Church within this Island, that it shal be a sanctuary to all the true professors of his name, euen (I doubt not) to the ende of the world. To whom therefore bee giuen all honour and praise for euer and euer. And let all true subiects to King James our dread Soueraigne say there-to. Amen. Cotham in Lincolnshiere 24. Martii. 1606.

Thy louing friend

Edward Ayscu.



ABRIEFE DECLARA-  
tion, who were first Inhabitants  
of this Iſland : and what ſeuerall

Nations haue ſithence ſetled them-  
ſelues therein one after  
another.



O let paſſe the Fables of  
*Diocleſian* his Daughters,  
and of their ſucceſſors the  
*Troyans*, vnder the conduct  
of (I know not what) *Brute*,  
coyned in ſome Munkish  
mint about foure hundred  
yeares agoe, and generally  
receaued for currant paiment, during the time  
wherein ignorance preuailed ouer the face of the  
earth, like vnto the palpable darkneſſe of *Egipt*: I  
will begin this my History of our famous Iſland  
of *Britaine*, with a ſhort declaration of the firſt in-  
habitation of the ſame, grounded vpon ſuch  
proofes, as by probable coniectures out of the  
beſt and moſt ancient Authors, ſhall ſeeme to  
come neereſt to the truth.

B

*Moyſes*



*Moyſes* expreſſie teſtifieth, that the poſterity of *Iapheth*, the firſt ſonne of *Noah*, inhabited the furtheſt parts of *Europe*. *Ab his ſeperate ſunt poſtea regiones Gentium, &c. Genes. 10.* Theſe men ſpeaking of the Sonnes of *Iapheth*) deuided amongſt them the countries of the *Gentils*, which were ſeperated from the *Jewes* by the Mediterranean Sea towards the North, as the Prophet *Ezechiel* expoundeth theſe words, *Chap. 38. Gomerum cum omnibus agminibus ſuis, domum Togarmi ad latera Aquilonis, &c* *Gomere* and all his bands, and the houſe of *Togarmah* of the North parts, &c. And againe in the ſame Chapter. *Postquam veniens è loco ſuo à lateribus Aquilonis tu & populi tui tecum:* that is, coming afterwards ( ſpeaking of *Gomer* ) from his abiding place out of the North coaſts, thou and thy people with thee.

Thus then wee may aſſure our ſelues, that all the nations of *Europe* tooke their beginning from the poſterity of *Iapheth*. But now if it be demanded, what people of his progeny firſt ſetled themſelues in this Iſland? I anſwer brieflie, euen they which inhabited that part of the continent, that bordereth neereſt vpon our coaſt, where the diſtance is no greater then that it may be diſcouered by the eye. For as water being ſlowly powred vpon an euen and round table, will naturally from the center ſpred it ſelfe equally on euery way, not leauing any part vntouched, vntill by little and little the whole be couered therewith: euen ſo it was



was in the propagation of man-kind. For as people increased, they dispersed them-selues towards all the quarters of heauen on euery side, where they might haue free passage, wherein the prouidence of the Almighty Creator is worthy due obseruation, hauing in such sort disposed and fashioned the Globe, being deuided and seperated into land and sea, as that no part of the earth is further distanced from some other, but may bee discovered by interview. But now it may be demanded, how the people were called that first transported themselves hither? Here-vnto *Iosephus* and *Zonaras* make answer. *Qui nunc sunt Galli, Gomari, Gomeri & Gomerite, a Gomerio vocabantur.* The people now called *Gaules* (say they) were before that named *Gomiries* or *Gomerites* of *Gomer*. These were afterwards by the *Latines* called *Cimbri*. For *Cicero* called those *Barbarians* whom *Marius* repulsed: *Gaules* whom all Historiographers haue since called *Cimbri*. In like manner *Appian* witnesseth, that they who vnder the leading of *Brennus* attempted the spoile of the Temple at *Delphos* in *Greece* (whom all writers with one consent hold to be the *Gaules*) were called *Cimbri*. Also it appeareth by the Prophet *Ezechiell* in the place of Scripture before cited, that the *Cimbrians* were the off-spring of *Gomer*, and so consequently *Gaules*, for their habitation agreeth with the words of the Prophet, being situated beyond *Thrace*, about the Lake *Meotides*, as appeareth

reth by the *Cimbrian* strait, and the *Citie* adioyning, both which tooke their names of their inhabitation the *Cimbrians*, whence being driuen by the *Scythians* towards the West, as *Herodotus* witnesseth, passing thorow the countries of *Russia*, *Lituania*, *Linonia* and *Borussia*, they attained at length vnto the *Germane* Ocean, wherevpon that part of *Denmarke* tooke likewise the name of *Cimbrica Chersonesus*. And afterwards inlarging their dominion on both sides of the *Rheene*, they settled themselves alongst the coast ouer-against vs, from whence they passed by a short cut, ouer into this Island.

And here-vnto also *Cesar* and *Tacitus* agree, both affirming that the *Britaines* tooke beginning from their next neighbours the *Gaules*. *Beda* (an ancient writer) affirmeth as much in these words. *In primis hac insula Britones solum ( a quibus nomen accepit ) incolas habuit, qui de tractu Armorico ( ut fertur ) Britanniam aduecti australes sibi partes illius vendicarunt.* This Island (saith *Beda*) was first inhabited by the *Britaines*, of whome it tooke the name of *Britaine*, who being transported hither from the coast *Armorick* (whereby hee meaneth the coast of *France*) did challenge vnto themselves the South-parts thereof.

Thus we see in what manner the posteritie of *Gomer* (the *Gaules* our next neighbours) first entered and possessed this Island, being the vttermost confines of *Europe*. And herein the prouidence of  
God



God is also to be obserued, who by the signification of the name of our first parent in this part of the world, foreshewed his purpose therein. For *Gomer* in the holy tongue, is by translation into *Latin*, *Finis*, that is, *termining* and *ending*, as *Melancton* noteth.

It may be further demanded what affinity in pronounciation and sound haue these words, *Gomerites* or *Gomerics* with the *Brittish* language? I answer, not a little. For the *Welch-men* at this day (who are the remnant of the *Brittish* bloud) call them-selues *Kumerie* or *Kumeroe*, the women *Kumerues*, which differ very little in sound from the former.

How commeth it then to passe, that this Island hath beene some-times called *Albion*, and more lately *Britaine*, which names can by no meanes be etimologed, either from *Gomerie*, *Kumerie*, or the *Gaules*, the first inhabitation thereof, as hath beene prooued? The name *Albion* no doubt was first giuen it by the *Gretians*, whose maner it was (as *Maister Camden* well obserueth) to bestow names on all nations of their owne inuention. As for example, they called the *Chusians* (who tooke that name of *Chus* their first parent,) *Ethiopians* of their blacknesse: So it may well be that they called this Iland *Albion*, of the Greeke word *Λευκον*, which signifieth *White* (whereof the *Alpes* take their name) because vpon the Sea coasts many white Rocks appeare to such as passe by the same.



*Inis gwyn.*

And the *welch-men* doe at this day call this land in their language *Iniswen*, that is, the *white Island*. Or else they called it *Albion*, of *Albion* the sonne of *Neptune*, in like maner as they vainely and vntuly call *Italie Hesperia* of *Hesperus* the sonne of *Atlas*, & as they called *Gallia*, *Gallatia* of a daughter of *Poliphemus* of that name. But vpon what occasion soeuer this name was first giuen, most certaine it is, that to distinguish this Island from the rest lying about it, the *Grecians* first called it *Albion*.

As for the other name *Britania*, I preferre the opinion of Maister *Camden*, who compoundeth the same of the word *Brit* or *Brith*, which in the *British* tongue signifieth *Painted*, and of *Tania* a *Greeke* word signifying *Region* or *Country*. So as *Britania* is as much to say, as the country of the painted men. The *Latines* receiued the name *Britania* from the *Grecians*, as they did these other, *Mauritania*, that is, the country of the *Moores*. *Lusitania* the cuntry of *Lusus*: and *Aquitania ad aquas regio*, that is, a country bordering vpon the Sea; in maner as the *British* name *Armorica* signifieth *super mare*, that is, vpon the Sea. Of this word *Brith* a *Briton* is called in the *British* Histories *Brithon*. And no doubt the *Romaines* afterwards called the *Britons*, *Picti*, of the custome they had to Painte themselves;

*Nec falso nomine Pictos: Edomuit*  
(saith *Claudian* the Poet) He tamed the *Pictes*, not vntuly so called of their custome to Painte their

their bodies . And *Isidore* : *Non abest genti Pictorum nomen à corpore, &c.* The *Pictes* ( saith hee ) wanted not a denomination of a custome they had to paint them-selues . For hauing with a Needle pricked some part of their bodies , they infused there-into certaine colours of hearbes and flowers , for an ornament to the better sort amongst them : neither were these *Picts* any other then the naturall *Britaines* , who refusing to become subiect to the *Romaines* , abandoned themselues into the furthest parts of the land Northwards, where liuing vnto them-selues , they retained their ancient and barbarous customes , from which the other *Britaines* were reclaimed by the ciuill behauour of the *Romaines* , who there-vpon for distinction sake , gaue to those Northerne *Britaines* ( then become enimies to the other ) the name of *Picts* . But by *Dion*, *Tacitus*, and *Herodian*, they were neuer otherwise called, then by the common name to the people of this nation, viz. *Britaines* . *Ausonius* calleth them the *Caledian Britaines*, because they inhabited the more hard and barraine part of the Iland , for *Kaledon* in the *Brittish* tongue signifieth as much . Thus wee haue attained ( I take it ) the certaine knowledge what people first inhabited this our Iland , and how it came by the former ancient names.

Now it followeth , that I should declare what forraine nations haue from time to time , come



from other partes, and sought habitation heere also. It appeareth manifestlie by the search of all ancient recordes, that vntill the comming of the *Romaines* this Iland was neuer attempted by inuasion, neither is there any memory made of the *Brittaines* vntill that time. But when *Iulius Cesar* that valiant and mightie Conqueror had subdued the *Gaules* euen vnto the coast ouer against vs, and there beholding a newe vnknowne worlde, offering it selfe as it were a preie to his hautie minde, hee had not the power to confine his Conquestes with the Ocean, but to giue the more glorie vnto his name and his nation, hee forth-with addressed him selfe for the conquest of the same, and hauing provided all things fit for so valerous an exploite, with much difficultie and small aduantage hee ariued here in the foure and fiftith yeare before the incarnation of our Lord and Sauour Iesus Christ, with which intertainement being much discontented he departed, but returning the next spring better furnished, he preuailed so much against *Cassibelan* and his *Brittaines*, that the king beeing vnwilling to hazard the losse of the whole land, perswaded his compeers to become tributarie to the *Romaine* Monarchie. *Cesar* here-with satisfied; at the approch of winter departed home-wards, hauing (as *Tacitus* saith) only shewed *Britaine* to his nation, for during the space of twentie years after (as *Dion* his words import) the *Brittaines* were governed



gouerned by their owne Kings and accustomed lawes, without any Romaine Lieutenant amongst them. Neuerthelesse it appeareth by *Strabo*, that certaine British Princes procuring by Ambassage and duetifull demenour the amitie of the Emperor *Augustus* ( who purposed in person to haue come hither ) offred in the Capitol to the Romaine Gods presents and gifts, and withal submitted themselves vnto his Soueraignty & protection, as vassales to the Empire. After this *Claudius* and *Vespasian* subdewing the *Brittains* reduced those partes that lie vpon the coast of *France* to the obedience of the *Romaines*, who in proesse of time ouerran the best part of the Iland gouerning the same by Lieutenants, so as after an hundred years from their first arriual, *Iulius Agricola* ( *Domitian* being Emperor ) conquered the whole, & with his navy first compassed the same, being before vnkown, whether it were an Iland or part of the continēt & firme land. The *Romaines* reseruing to themselves and their subjects the more fertile and commodious part of Land, left vnto the barbarous *Brittaines* which would not yeeld to their subiection, the Northerne, cold and lesse frutefull soile.

The *Brittaines* continewed in their due obedience vntill the declining estate of the Empire vnder *Theodosius* and *Valentinian*, about five hundred yeares from their first compact with *Iulius Cesar*, at what time the Romaine legions beeing drawne

drawne hence for the defence of *France*, the *Britiſh* nation was leaſt a preie to there bordering enemies the *Pictes* and *Scottes*, who together aſſailed them ſo furiouſlie that they were in the ende driuen for their defence to call the *Saxons* ouer to their aide, as hereafter in place more fit ſhal be declared.

During the *Romaine* Soueraigntie the *Brittaines* ſundrie times oppoſed themſelues againſt the ſame. Amongſt whome *Caraticus* was firſt, but after many ſharpe encounters hee was at length diſcomfited, by *Oſtorius Scapula* and ſent Captiue to *Rome*, for which victorie the Senate had determined at his returne to haue receaued him home with triumph. The ſtrange courage of the Ladie *Voadicia*, the widowe of *Prasutagus* exceeded all other of that ſexe. For hauing in reueng of manie iniuries done vnto her by the *Romaines*, aſſembled an huge armie, ſhe there-with preuailed ſo mightily, that had not *Paulinus* (the *Romaine* Lieutenant) by aduantage of place in a battaile ſubdewed her, ſhe had well neere reſtored the *Brittaines* to their ancient libertie; *Calgacus* likewise made good triall of his valor in a desperate conflict or two againſt, *Agricola*. Prince *Arviragus*, was held verie renowned with the *Romains* themſelues, of whome *Iuuenal* wryteth to *Domitian*.

*Iuuenal.*  
*Sat. 4.*

*Omen habes (inquit) magni clarique triumph:  
Regem aliquem capies, aut de temone Britanno  
excidet*



*excidet Aruiragus.*

It is not be doubted but there were many other *Brittaines*, who beeing both at home and abroad continuallie inured and trained vp in martial discipline by the *Romaines*, atcheeued as great estimation in those daies as any other people of the world.

Though this subiection to the *Romaine* Monarchie was manie times offensive to the *Brittaines*, by reason of the insolencie of such vnto whome the administration of Iustice was sometimes committed by the Emperours; neuertheless the people were nurtured and framed to a more ciuile carriage of themselves in there ordinarie behauour, and also were disciplined by them in the practize of warre and good letters, whereof it came to passe that this nation receaued in this time (in some measure) the knowledge of God, in the profession of the name and diuine nature of the God and man *Iesus Christ* the eternall Sonne of God, in whome alone the Father is manifested vnto the world. For though as yet the *Romaine* Emperors themselves had not embraced Christianitie, yet (no doubt) manie of those *Romaines* that liued heere and married with the *Brittaines*, were professors of Christ, thorough the preaching and good example of life of those their true pastors and Bishops, who for the space of three hundred yeares together liued continuallie in persecution, sealing the  
certaintie



certaintie and truth of their doctrine, with most horrible tortures and torments euen vnto death. The *Brittish* King, that first together with his people receiued the badge of Christian profession, was named therevpon *Lucius*, which commeth of the Latine word *Lux*, alluding (as I take it) to that place of *Esay*, cap. 60. vers. 3. where it is said of Christ; *And the Gentiles shall walke in the light, and Kings at the brightnesse of thy rising vp*: and herewith agreeth *Nennius*: *Lucius rex agnomine Leuer Maur, id est, magni splendoris, propter fidem que in eius tempore venit.*

Last of all, it is to be obserued, that during the gouernment of the *Romaines* here, there was no absolute King ouer the whole Island, or any kinglie succession ouer any part thereof, as *Galfred* and his followers would make vs beleue, who haue vainely registred them in order: But diuerse Noble-men of good desert amongst the *Britaines*, such as *Edgidunus* (of whom *Tacitus* writeth) and those other which I haue before named, were admitted by especiall fauour of the *Romaine* Emperours, to bee sometimes intituled Kings ouer some part of the Realme, so long as they acknowledged to hold their places vnder them, as of their head and soueraigne Lord, wherein they graced, and gaue the more glory to their Emperiall Maiestie.

Now it followeth, that I should declare what people the *Scots* were, who ioyning themselues  
with

with the *Picts* the *Caledonian Brittaines*, inuaded with such violence those other *Brittaines* that were subiect to the *Romaine* Empire. First it is held most certaine, that before the time of *Constantine* the great, there was no mention made of them in any writer, whereby it seemeth that till then their name was vnknowne to the world. *Giraldus Cambrensis* in his Booke of the Institution of a Prince, writeth; That at what time *Maximus* (who vsurped the gouernment ouer the *Brittaines*) passed ouer into *Gaule* with a mighty Armie, euen the strength of the whole Illand, to possesse himselfe of the Emperiall Diadem, the two brothers and partners in the gouernment thereof, *Gratian* and *Valentinian* sent hither by Sea, certaine bands of *Gothes* and *Scythians* to inuade the land, to the end thereby to procure his returne, for the defence thereof, and so to preuent his malice intended against them by that his ambitious enterprize. These *Barbarians* being ariued, tooke the aduantage of the time, seized vpon the North parts of the Island, and expulsiug the inhabitants, possessed themselues of that country. But as *Amianus* writeth in his nine and twentieth Booke, *Maximus* at his returne subdued those *Scythians* (whom he calleth *Scots*) and slew *Eugenius* their Captaine. These being thus expelled, transported themselues into *Ireland*, where they remained vntill the raigne of the great *O-neale*, for so writeth the foresaid *Girald* in his descrip-



description of *Brittaine*, *Nello magno Hibernia monarchiam obtinente*, sex filij *Muredi regis Ultonie boreales Britannie partes occuparunt*, unde ab his gens propagata: et specificato vocabulo *Scotia* vocata usq<sup>3</sup> in hodiernum, angulum illum inhabitant, *Neale* the great (saith hee) hauing obtained the absolute Soueraigntie ouer *Ireland*, fixe sonnes of *Murede* King of *Ulster* possessed the North partes of *Brittaine*, of whome afterwards sprong a Nation called by a peculier name *Scotland*, which vnto this day inhabiteth that corner. Thus it appeareth that the name *Scotland* was then first giuen vnto that angle of *Brittaine* to make a difference as it seemeth betweene the same, and that part of *Ireland* from whence these people came thither, whervpon it came to passe afterwards, that their former habitation and Country was called the greater *Scotland*, and the latter, the lesse *Scotland*: which alone at this daie retayneth that name. But to come more neere to the knowledge of the time of this transmigration of these Sonnes of *Murede*, wee finde that while *Laigerius* the Sonne of this great *Neale* succeeded him in *Ireland*, Pope *Celestine* sent *Patrick* thither, *Palladius* into *Scotland*, and *Germanus* to the *Brittaines* to roote out the *Pelagian* heresie. This *Celestine* became Bishoppe of *Rome* not aboue two yeares before *Valentinian* the third was admitted by *Theodosius* the second into fellowship with him in the gouernment of the Empire, and continued

newed bishoppe not fullie ten yeares : hereby it should seeme that these *Irish Scottes* first settled themselves in this Island, about the beginning of the raigne of the Emperour *Honorius*, where-with agreeeth *Iohannes Maior*, according to the computation of *Functius*. The *Scots* (saith he) returned into *Brittaine*, hauing beene banished from thence three and fortie yeares, but hee faileth in that his account of the number of yeares, as *Functius* well obserueth, who maketh the overthrowe that *Maximus* gaue *Eugenius*, to come to passe about the tenth yeare of *Valentinian* brother to *Gratian*, but some twentie yeares before.

The *Scotts* hauing then laied a sure foundation in a corner of this Island, committed the Soueraigntie ouer them vnto *Fergusius*, Nephew to the fore-said *Eugenius*, in the yeare of our Lord God (after *Functius*) foure hundred and foure, about seauen yeares after their returne out of *Ireland*: in which time they had enlarged there kingdome South-ward vnto the *Scottish* sea, now called the frith of *Scotland*. About sixescore years after, as may be gathered out of *Beda*, the Northumbrian *Saxons* beeing at ciuile dissention amongst themselves, and greatlie weakened by the often inuasion of the *Danes*, the *Scottes* taking the aduantage, entred further into the Land, and enlarged their dominion ouer a great part of their Countrie, which before was extended



extended to the riuer of *Cluide*, as by all antiquity is confessed. Herevpon (as Maister *Camden* well obserueth) it commeth to passe, that the *Scottes* who now inhabite the East coast, called *Low-land-men*, are descended from the *English-Saxons*, and still speake the same language. But the *High-land-men* Westward are naturall *Scots*, and speake their ancient and peculiar *Irish*. But for more manifest prooffe that the *Gothes* which were sent hither by the foresaid *Romaine* Emperors, were the very same people that were afterwards called *Scottes*, it is not to bee omitted (as Maister *Camden* also well obserueth) that as the *Lowe-land-men* of *Germanie* call both *Gothes* and *Scottes* by one and the same name *Scutten*: so the *Britaines* (as appeareth out of their Histories) called them both *I-Scot*. King *Alfred*, who translated *Orosius* about sixe hundred yeares agoe, turned the Latine worde *Scotos* into *Scittan*. And at this day our borderers call them *Skitts* and *Sketts* more often then *Scots*. There are also certaine Islands beyond those of *Orkney* now called *Scetlant*, which no doubt tooke that name of their inhabitants the *Sketts*. Thus it appeareth plainly enough, that the name *Scott* was first giuen them by the *Pictes* their next neighbours and confederates, where-vpon the *Saxons* afterwards called their countrie *Scotlandt*, in maner as they called the Isle from whence they came *Gotlandt*.

The Emperour *Valentinian* the younger, being  
forced

forced thorough want of other meanes to transport his bands from thence into *Gaule* for the defence thereof: the wealth of this land was not only thereby wasted, but the strength also much abated, by reason whereof the poore *Brittaines* were left for a prey to their enemies the *Pictes* & *Scots*, against whom they were in the end compelled to call in the *Saxons* for their defence. These strangers crossing the Easterne seas, arriued here in great numbers, and were friendly intertained of *Vortigerne* (to whom the *Brittaines* had committed the soueraignty ouer them) about the yeare of our Lord God 449. The enemy beeing repulsed, and the Realme by their helpe reduced to a more quiet estate, the *Saxons* became so farre in loue and liking with this Land, that they had no good will to returne home againe. Wherefore beeing growne to a mighty People (for daylie they still flocked hither) vnder some colourable pretence of quarrell, they became friends (for the time) with the *Pictes* and *Scots*, and bent all their force against the *Brittaines*. Thus were they brought to a most miserable estate by them in whom they reposed greatest confidence, not foreseeing how dangerous a thing it is for any nation to entertaine a forraine aide, ouer-mighty to bee commanded at their pleasure. For after some resistance made by those two Martiall *British* Princes *Aurelius Ambrosius*, and King *Arthur*, in the end they were expelled out off the more



firtill parts into the Westerne corners of the I-land, called thereupon by the *Saxons*, *Britwalsh*, and *Cornwalsh*, now *Wales* and *Cornwall*, where through the naturall strength by situation, they might the better saue themselves from their enemies, who neuer ceased to pursue them. The *Saxon* word *Walsh* signifieth Foraine, accounting the *Brittaines*, aliens and strangers vnto the. *Wales* hath euen hitherto retained both the language and lineage of the antient *Brittaines*, but the *Cornwalsh Brittaines*, being neither so many nor so well defended by the mountaines reliefe as the other, were in short time forced to transport themselves to their Countymen the *Brittaines* on the other side of the Sea, who not long before (beeing carried ouer by *Maximus* the Vsurper (as is afore-said) had by force planted themselves in that Prouince then called *Armorica*, of the signification thereof, as I haue already noted. Of this transmigration, of these first *Brittaines*, *Iulius Scalliger* thus writeth,

*Vicit Armericas animosa Britannia gentes,  
Et dedit imposito nomina prisca iugo.*

The *Saxons* being thus settled in this Iland, deuided the same into seauen principalities or little Kingdomes, which continued in that estate till *Egbert* the seuententh from *Cerdic* the first King of the West *Saxons*, subduing foure of the other *Saxon* Kings, tooke vpon him the Soueraigntie ouer the whole, ordaining that from  
thence

thenceforth it shall be called *Englande*, about the yeare of our Lord God, 810. After an hundred and fortye yeares from thence his successors brought vnder their subiection the two other Prouinces. So that in the end the former Hepharchie was reduced to a Monarchie,

These *Saxons* were not all one people but consisted of three seuerall Nations. *viz.* The *Angles* (who as it appeareth by their possessions heere, were the greatest number) the *Jutes*, & the *Saxons*, but they were all the Inhabitants of some part or other of *Denmarke*. For proöfe whereof, besides the authoritie of *Bede*, Maister *Camden* citeth an ancient Author, *Fabius Ethelwardus* who writeth thus. *Anglia vetus sita est inter Saxones & Giotos, habens opidum capitale quod sermone Saxónico Sleswick, secundum vero Danos Haithby.* that is, The old *England* is situate between the *Saxons* and the *Jutes*, whose chiefe Towne was cald by the *Saxons* *Sleswick*, but by the *Danes* *Hathbie*. And as Maister *Camden* well obserueth there is at this day a prouince in *Denmarke* thereabout called *Angell*, from whence he supposeth that these *Angells* or *Angles* came hither.

These people were generally addicted to superstitious paganisme sacrificing humane flesh to their Idolls, among whom *Wooden* and *Fria* were of greatest account. To him they dedicated the third day of the weeke, to her the fift calling them after their names *Woodensday* & *Friday*



appropriated to the seruice of them through out the whole yeare. Besides these they had an other Goddesse named *Eoster* in the honor of whō they did yearely offer sacrifice in the month of Aprill wherupon the feast of the Pascall cōming alwaies in or nere that month, was & is still called *Easter*. The word (I take it) commeth from the Greeke word *Eos*, whō the Latins called *Aurora*, which is the first appearance of the Sun in the East, which the *Germanes* call *Oost*, whereupon I gather that their *Eoster*, was the diuine worship which these Pagans gaue the Sun at his rising in that month, reioysing at the approch of Sommer. In imitation of whom the Christians haue since vsed in time of prayer to turne their faces towardes the East, according to the manner of the standing of our Churches East & West. Hereby it appeareth that by the cōming of the *Saxons* the profession of Christ, which before had taken some little roote, was now exterpate & plucked vp. But after 150. years from their first arriual it pleased the Lord to enlighten their vnderstanding by the reading of his word, with some knowledge of him, amongst whom *Ethelbert* of *Kent* was the first King that together with his subiects receiued Baptisme (the badge of our profession) at the hands of *Augustin*, whō *Gregory* Bishop of *Rome* sent hither to preach the Gospell. But the Religion of *Rome* was euen then so blemished with humaine traditions & superstitious ceremonies (the inuention of  
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mans braine) that the same consisted more in outward appearance and show, then in substance of sound Doctrine, out off the pure word of God, the writings of the Prophets and Apostles.

*Egbert* hauing resumed the title of absolute King ouer the whole Land, and promising vnto himselfe and his posteritie, the sole Soueraigntie ouer the same: the height of his conceiued happinesse was sodainly shaken by a mighty tempest out off the East againe. For the *Danes* arriuing here in his time, did afterwardees so much preuaile against the *Englishmen*, as that within the space of two hundred yeares, *Swane* King of *Denmarke*, hauing attained the possession of the whole Realme, left the same vnto *Canutus* his sonne, who together with his two sonnes did successiuelly raigne one after another about twenty yeares. After the death of the two brothers the gouernement of the Land returned to the *English* bloud in the person of King *Edward* surnamed the Confessor, in whom also it ended for a season. This seruitude vnder the *Danes* was more grieuous then any other before or after it, as *Hollinshead* well obserueth. For the *Romaines* vsed all kind of curtesie to those *Brittaines* which continued in dutifull obedience, alwayes defending thē from their enemies malice, & admitting them kings and rulers of their owne nation. The *Saxons*, and the *Normans* hauing in short time attained the Soueraignty, gaue speedy end to the



miseries and mischieues incident to a conquest. But the *Danes* a long time molesting the land by their seuerall inuasions, did not so much desire to become conquerors, as to make a continuall spoile and prey of the inhabitants, whereby the Land was most extremely vexed and impouershed.

These *Danes* were a people, that long after the arriual of the *Saxons* here, succeeded them in their former habitations, beeing transported thither out of the easterne Countries, from some part of *Scandia*, of whome these peninsule or Ile-like prouinces first tooke the name of *Dane-marshes*, because they lie low, subiect to the ouer flowing of the sea, according to the nature of marish ground. Now the Country by corruption of speech is called *Denmarke*.

The fourth and last conquest ouer this land was made by the *Normans*. The manner whereof Maister *Camden* (now *Clarentiaulx* king at armes) hath very compendiously deliuered in the Latin tongue, wherefore it shalbe sufficient for mee in this place to followe him word by word in as good *English* as I can make him speake, as as for the most part I haue done hitherto.

*Edward* the confessor being dead without issue, the nobles and commons were at there witts end, how to resolue about the admittance of a new King. *Edgar* (surnamed *Atheling*) grandchild to *Edmond Ironside* by his Father was the onely

onely issue male of the *Saxon* bloud, to whome the crowne by right of inheritance pertayned. But he beeing thought vnfit to gouerne by reason of his minority, and hauing beene also bred and brought vp in *Pannonia*, by his Mother *Agathe* Daughter to the Emperour *Henrie* the third, was not so gracious in the eyes of the *Englishmen*, who regarded nothing more, then to haue one to raigne ouer them of their owne nation. Therefore both the eies and heartes well neere of all men were wholie fixed and settled in affection vpon *Harold* the Sonne of *Godwine* highlie honored and renowned for his singuler dexterity in managing the affaires of estate, as well in time of warre as of peace. For although hee had no cause to boast of Nobility, receauing that onelic of his Mothers side, and that his Father had stayned himselfe with a perpetuall note of infamie. Neuerthelesse by his curtiuous carriage towards all men, his liberality, and manlie corrage, hee was generally exceedingly fauored. Neither was there any other in whome was found more boldnesse to incounter an intended mischiefe, or of better foresight how to auoide it. His late victory ouer the *welchmen* was so glorious in the iudgement of the people, that he seemed to want no good accomplement, requisite in a great Commander as though he had purposely beene borne to restore and vphold the *English* Empire.



As for the *Danes* who were then the greatest terror to this nation, It was hoped hee should finde them fauorable enough because *Edithe* his mother was sister to *Swane* then King of *Denmarke*. If any other resistance should arise either at home or else-where, hee seemed to be sufficiently garded not onely by the hands and heartes of the communalty, but also by his affinity in bloud, & alliance with the nobility, for his wife was sister to the two brothers *Morkar* and *Edwine* the greatest men in the Land, and *Edrick* surnamed the forester (a man of an aspiring minde and in high authority) was also neerelie allied vnto him. Withall it fell out fortunatly for him that the *Danish* King was then set on worke at home by his enemy the *Sweaden*. And *Philip* of *France* was nothing gracious to the *Normaine* Duke, because hee much misliked that *Edward* the confessor had in the time of his banishment and abode in *Normandie*, couenanted to make the Duke his heire to the Crowne of *England* after him, if hee should decease without issue of his bodie. For the performance whereof *Harold* had offered to become his suretie and assurance, and further had thereunto bound himselfe vnto the Duke by oath, while hee also remained Captiue with him, promising withall to marie his daughter. For this cause many thought it the best course to make the Duke their king, the rather by keeping promise with him, not only for that they

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war otherwise threatned, & the miseries commonly in flicted for the punishment of periury might thereby be auoyded, but also for that by the addition of *Normandie* vnto the crowne of *England*, vnder so mighty a Prince, the realme should bee much strengthened and the common-wealth enriched. But *Harold* preventing further consultation, euen vpon the same daie on which the deceased King was put into his graue, hee forthwith put the Crowne on his head without further solemnity. This act did not a little offend the Cleargie, as beeing a breach of the Church her holie ordinance. Wherefore to salue that sore (being not ignorant how hard a thing it is for a Prince newlie aduanced, to hold his authoritie without the opinion at least of vertue and piety) & the better to confirme the same, hee left nothing vndone that might aduāce & pleasure the ecclesiastical estate either for matter of profit or ornament. Further he entertained the noble men with al kinde of curtisies, especially *Edgar Atheling* whō hee created Earle of Oxford. As for the communalty they were well eased in their accustomed taxation & paimēts. And on those that liued in want he bestowed liberal maintenance. To conclude his affability & curtious speech, his redinesse to heare others speake, his indifferency and vpright carriage betweene party and party in matter of controuersie, made him both beloued & feared: the best supporters of authority. When  
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the Duke of *Normandy* had inteligence of the death of the King, & what had followed thervpō in *England*, he seemed not so much trobled with the losse of his Kinsman, as to thinke that therewith he should loose a Kingdom, wherof his cōfident hopes had already taken ful possessiō. Wherefore he presently sent ouer some of his Counsell, on ambassage to *Harold*, to put him in minde of his former promise, and accordingly to demand the Crowne as of right it appertained to him. Wherevnto after some deliberation they receiued answer. *viz.* First, for the promise made by the late deceassed King, it was of no force seeing it rested not in his powre alone, to dispose of the Kingdome of *England* at his pleasure, neyther though the King might haue done it, was hee bound to yeeld therevnto because he came to the Crowne not by right of succession, but by free election. And as concerning his owne promise and oath, hee was vnwillinglie in the time of captiuitie drawne therevnto by force, fraud, and feare of perpetuall imprisonment, made to the preiudice of the Realme, and the authotitie of the three estates of the same, and therefore they were to bee reputed voide and of no validitie, which hee neither ought to performe, neither (though he would) had he any warrant thereto, seeing the deceassed King was not acquainted therewith, nor yet had his subiects consent vnto it. Finally that the Duke had no reason to make  
claime

claime to the Crowne of *England* considering he was a stranger to the *Saxon* bloud and linage, he himselfe beeing now by generall consent and applause of the whole Nation lawfully established in that Throne. The Duke was not a little displeased with this answer, esteeming it a bare and badde excuse wherewith to colour his periurie. Therefore hee forth-with sent ouer againe other Ambassadors more seriously to admonish him, what conscience hee ought to make of an oath, how odious the breach thereof was both to God and man, not onely deseruing punishment in this life, dishonor & endlesse infamie, but withall destruction of body and soule in the world to come. *Harold* now vnderstanding that the Dukes daughter was dead, who before was affianced vnto him vpon his former promise and oath, and was the very foundation and ground-work for the same: these men were entertained with lesse curtesy the former, neither could they get other answer of him, the before he had made. Now did al things tend to open war. The Nauy was forth-with furnished of all complements pertaining there-to: Souldiers were mustered, watch and ward set alongst the sea-coast, especially in places of most aduantage for the enemies landing, and whatsoever else was thought commodious either for defence or offence was with all speede put in readiness. First of al, *Tosty* the Kings brother (besides al mens expectation) gaue the on-set. This Man  
being



being ambitiously minded, sometimes gouerned in great authoritie ouer the *Northumbrians* ; but abusing his place by too much feuerity ouer his inferiors, extreame arrogancie and pride towards his soueraigne , and malice and enuie at the advancement of his owne Brothers , he was deservedly banished by King *Edward* , and liued afterwarde in *France*. *Tostie*, at the instigation of *Baldwin* Earle of *Flanders* , and of the Duke of *Normandie* , as it was thought ( both hauing married *Baldwines* daughters ) began nowe to pursue his Brother with open warre, whom long before he had deadly hated in his heart. His Nauie consisted of some threescore saile, and loased from the Coast of *Flanders* wherewith arriuing at the Wight, hee ouer-ran and wasted the Ile, passing from thence he annoyed the Kentish Coast, but being terrified with the approach of the Kings Nauie, leauing those parts, he directed his course to the Coast of *Lincolne-shire*, where at his landing he was repulsed by *Edwine* and *Morcar*, and forced to retire into *Scotland* , there to repaire & augment his forces. Herevpon it was doubted, that the Realme should bee assailed on that side from thence, and on the other out off *Normandy*. The terror hereof made the deeper impression, by reason of a Comet which appearing in fearefull manner, for the space of little lesse then a weeke together, disposed mens mindes ( as in so troublesome a time it commeth often to passe )

to an opinion and expectation of some grievous event portended thereby. But *Harold* hauing a vigilant eye to his busines on euery side, strengthened the coasts all along the North parts with sufficient defence, though not much doubting any inuasion that way, because *Malcolme* King of *Scotts* had his hands full at home thorough the sedition of his owne subiects. In the meane time the Duke of *Normandie* set all his wits on worke which way hee might best effect his indeauors. Often he debated the matter with his best experienced Captaines whom he found alwayes verie forward in the enterprize for *England*.

The onely difficultie rested, by what meanes money might be gotten sufficient for discharge of so costly a iourney. For when at a publike assembly of the States called together for that purpose, a subsidie was demanded, answer was made, that the countrie was so much in pouerish-  
ed by the last warre with *France*, that if a newe should arise, it would bee hardly prouided to make defence for it selfe, for the which, it stood them vpon much more to make prouision, then neglecting the same, to hazard all for the getting of that, which if they got at all, they looked to come by at so deare a rate. And though the quarrell were iust, yet the warre was not so necessary as dangerous. Finally that the *Normans* were not bound to follow their Duke into any foraine seruice. Thus by no meanes could they bee now  
perswa-



perswaded to part with any thing, although *William Fitzosbert* ( a man highly esteemed both of Prince and people ) labored the matter as much as possibly he could , and thereby to drawe on others by his example , hee franckly offred at his owne charge to furnish out forty ships towards this enterprice . The Duke seeing hee could not preuaile this way, tried what might be gotten by priuate intreaty , for the richest men in all the coutry being come before him, he called ech one a part from the rest, and so much preuailed by his faire words & curtious behauour, that as if they had contended who should giue most , euery one offred very liberally, so that after the perticuler Items were cast vp, & accounted, the totall summe far exceeded the Dukes expectatiō. Hauing thus obtained so large a contribution of his own subiects, he further attempted what aide might bee gotten of the Princes his allies & neighbors, the Earles of *Aniou, Poictou, Le-Main, and Bollogne*, to whom he promised vpon his good successe great preferments in *England* . Also he solicited *Philip the French king* offering, that if he would assist him in the conquest of this Land, to bind himselfe by oth, to hold the crowne of him, as of his Soueraigne Lord & maister. But because it seemed nothing comodious to *France* that the Dukedom of *Normandy*, which then stood but in slender awe of the king, should be strengthened by the addition of *England* ( for the ouer great powre of a neighbour

bour nation is held amongst Princes a dangerous point) *Philip* was so farre off from yeelding him any aide therin, as that he did what he could to dissuade him from it. Neuerthelesse the Duke would not by any means be remoued from that he had alreadie so farre forth vndertaken, but was the more forward being now also backed & incouraged by the enterposed authority of *Alexander* Bishop of *Rome*, who now first began to vsurpe a Soueraignty and command ouer Princes. For his Holinesse ratifying the Dukes interest, presented him with a hallowed banner, as an assured token of happy successe, wherfore hauing gathered his whole powre in redinesse at *S. Valeries* (a little towne situat at the entry of the riuer *Some*) the Nauie attended a faire winde, which because they could not haue so sone as they would, the *Normans* wried the poore Saint ( *Patron* of that place) with the multitude of vowes and did ouerload him with their continuall offerings. *Harold*, who had all this while, with his people waited in vaine on the enemies landing, determined with himselfe to dismisse his army, and to dissolue his nauy for that time, as well because his prouision of corne fayled, as also hauing receaued letters frō the Earle of *Flanders*, signifying that the duke purposed to stir no further that yeare, which hee the rather beleued, because winter approaching (for the sun was returned to his latter equinoctial period) the season was vnfit for nauigation.

But



But his armie was no sooner dismissed, but he was constrained, by an vnexpected occasion, to gather together his dispearsed forces. For *Harold Harfager* King of *Norway*, playing the Pirat alongst the Northen coasts, had alrede seized on the isles of *Orkney*, intised thereunto by *Tofty*, who had put him in hope of attayning the Crowne, and were together entred the riuer of *Tine* with some few lesse then fiae hundred smale vessels. There forces thus vnited, they tooke spoile of the Countries adioyning, passing from thence alongst the coast of *Yorkshire*, till they entred the Riuer of *Humber*, making what spoyle they could on ether side. In the meane time the two Erles *Edwine* and *Morcar* gathering vp certaine disordered troopes, such as the Country vpon a suddaine could afford, made head against them, but being repulsed by the *Noruegians*, many of them together with there captaines saued them selues by flight, but the greater mumber vnaduisedly rushing into the Riuer of *Ouse* (thereby hoping to haue escaped) perished in the water. After this blowe, they prepared to besiedg *Yorke*, whether being come sooner then was looked, the Cittie was surrendred and hostages deliuered on both sides. Within fewe dayes, *Harold* of *England* hauing in his passage gathered what forces he could commeth to *Yorke*, from whence pursuing the *Noruegians*, he found them very strongly incamped, hauing on their backes the maine Ocean, on there

their leaft hand the riuer of *Humber*, where their ships lay at Ancre, and vpon the right hand and a front they were pretily defended by the riuer *Derwine*. All this not-with-standing *Harold* assailed them very couragiously. The fight began vpon the bridge whereon, it is said, that a *Norwegian* alone, a long time kept back the whole armie of the *Englishmen* from passing ouer, vntill he was stroken thorow with a Dart. The armies being ioyned, the fight continued a good while, with doubtfull victory on either side, but in the end the *Norwegian* hoast was wholly defeated, of whom the greater number together with their King and his partaker *Tostie*, were slaine in the battaile. This victory brought also with it a rich bootie, for besides much treasure, they left behind them all their ships, sauing some twentie of the worst, which were bestowed on *Paul* Earle of the Isles of *Orkney*, and on *Oliue* sonne to the *Norwegian* King, therein to carry home their maimed souldiers, hauing first taken an oath that from thence forth they should neuer molest this land againe. Fortune thus smiling on our *Harold*, made him esteeme very highly of himselfe: for thinking that the *Normans* would now stand in feare of his mightinesse, hee began to make lesse account of his souldiers, not respecting how slenderly hee rewarded them for their late good seruice, but reseruing to himselfe, and some fewe of his favorites, the whole wealth attained by this  
D victory,



\**Pemsey.*

victory, he became odious to his owne subiects. The North parts being thus distempered by this inuasion from *Norway*, he wholly applied himselfe to set all things there in good order and safetie againe. In the meane time the Duke of *Normandy* taking the offered oportunity, about the ende of September hoised vp his sailes and with a fauorable winde landed his whole army at \**Peuenſie* in *Suffex*, causing his ships to be set on fier, thereby taking from his souldiers all hope of sauing themselves by flight. Having builded here some fortifications, he marched from thence alongst the sea coast to *Hastings*, where also hee rayſed an other fortresse, and furnished them both with sufficient strength for their defence. Here he published the causes mouing him to vndertake this enterpriſe, namely, to bee reuenged on the outrage committed vpon his Cousin *Alfred*, whom together with diuerſe *Normans*, *Godwine*, Father to *Harold* had wickedly murthered. To take reuenge on *Harold* himſelfe as well for causing *Robert* the Archbishop of *Canterburie* to be banished the Realme in the daies of King *Edward*, as also for vniuſtlic detayning from him the kingdome of England, contrary to his faithfull promise and oth. But in any case hee ſtrictly forbade his Souldiers to inflict anie outragious calamities vpon the countrie people: knowledge heereof was preſently brought to king *Harold*, who therevpon without further deliberation, to the

the end hee might the more speedily incounter the *Normans*, dispatched his postes into all the partes of the Realme, intreating his subiects to perseuer in their loyaltie and duetifull obedience vnto him, and hauing gathered what powre by al possible means hee could, by long iorneyes hee came in fewe daies to *London*. Hither the Duke sent his ambassador, who demanding resignation of the kingdom vnto his maister, very hardly escaped with life, so much was *Harold* intraged against him. For by his late victory ouer the *Norwegians* he was so encoraged, that nothing could now appall & daunt him. He returned the Duke answere, that ylesse he would forth-with draw homewards, it should be worffe for him. But the Duke in modesty replied, and in curtious manner dismissed the messenger. *Harold* in the meane season mustering his men at *London*, found that since the late conflict with the *Norwegians*, his forces were shrewdly weakned, neuertheles by reason of the repaire of the Nobility and others (whome the loue of their country brought thither to the defence of the same, against a danger of like prejudice to them all) a great army was from thence speedily conducted by himselfe into *Sussex*, whatsoever perswasion, his Mother could vse to the contrary notwithstanding, and with an intincible corrag he encamped his host in a faire plaine with in lesse then seauen miles of the enemy. The Duke approaching sent forth his espiales as



the other did, to giue intelligence one of the others demeaner. They of the *English* part (either of ignorance or of purpose to terrifie their king) exceedingly extolled & preferred the Dukes armie, both for number, furniture, orderlie disposition, and conduction of the same. In so much as *Githe* the Kings brother (an expert warriour) holding it not conuenient to hazard the loosing of all vpon the successe of one battaile, aduised the King not to be ouer forward, shewing him how vnconstant fortune vseth to shew her selfe in martiall aduentures, fauoring those for the more part that are of least desert. That an aduised delaie was reputed a principall point of military discipline. That if he had promised to reserue the Crowne to the vse and behoofe of the Duke (as it was iustified) hee then held it fit, he should retire his person, considering that without a good conscience no force or powre whatsoeuer should stand him in steed. That God himselfe would take reuenge vpon faith-breakers. That nothing would more dismay the enemy, then to be set vpon still afresh with new supplie, offering that if he would commit to him the aduenture of that battile, he would not faile to performe the part both of a faithfull brother, and of a resolute Captaine. That hee maintayning his quarrell vpon warrant of a good conscience (as far as he knewe) should haue more happy successe against the *Normans*, or not vnhappily

giue

giue his life for the loue he bare to his King & Country. *Harold* was much offended hereat, as esteeming it a speech ouermuch sauouring of disgrace and reproch to his person. For as he would take in good part whatsoeuer euent followed the battell, so could he not indure in any sort to bee taxed of want of courage. Wherefore as touching the commendation giuen to the behauour of his aduersaries, he lightly regarded that report, neither (as he tooke it) could it be without great dishonor to his former renowne, that beeing come to the repulse of the last danger which hee was like to fall into, hee should now shrink and fearefully with-drawe himselfe. In this manner doth fatall destinies bewitch their senses, whom they meane to bring to destruction. While these things were thus debated, Duke *William* preferring the care he had to auoid the effusiō of much Christian bloud, ( which in that quarrell was likely to bee shed) before any particular respect of aduantage to himselfe, sent a Munke to *Harold* with this message: Either to surrender vnto him the Crowne and Scepter of *England*, or else to acknowledge thence-forth to hold them vnder him, as in his right. But if the title must of necessity be tryed by Armes, then to haue it determined by single Combat betweene themselues. If none of these offers would be accepted, then to commit the caule to the hearing and determination of the Bishop of *Rome*, as an indifferēt



Iudge and vmpire betweene them. *Harold* answered that it was not in his powre to yeald to any of these offers, but hee referred the disciding of this waightie cōtrouersie to the final sentence and decree of the supream and celestiaall Iudge, and moderator of all humaine actions. That on the next morning, beeing the foureteenth day of October, hee would not faile to giue him battell, vainely imagining to haue the better successe because it was his birth-day. The *Englishmen* spent all the next night in excessiue riot, but the *Normans* contrariwise passing the same without any misdemeanor gaue themselues wholly to holsome meditations and exercises of deuotion. At the apearance of day, euery man prepared himselfe to the fight. On the *English* part, the *Kentishmen* were placed in the front of the battell (to whom that place pertained by an ancient custome) with their Halberds in their handes. *Harold* with his Brother, the *Londoners*, and the rest of his army made vp the whole Battel. On the other side *Roger Montgomery* & *William Fitzosbert*, had the leading of the Vangard which consisted of horsemen of *Aniou*, & of the contries of *Perch*, *Le-Maine* and *Britaine*, of whom a great number serued vnder the *Britaine Fergent*. The midle battaile (who were *Germaines* & *Pictoines* was conducted by *Galfred Martell*, & a *Germaine*. The Duke himselfe managed the rereward, wherein was placed the strength of his nation & the flowre of his Nobility

Nobilitie. These three battells were thorow out enterlined with the *Norman* Archers. The *Normans* being thus marshalled; sounding the alarū without any confused noise, aduanced theselues forward, & withall from euery ranck mounting their Arrowes in the ayre, they fell on the *Englishmen* as thicke as hailestones, wherat they were not a little dismaide hauing neuer before beene acquainted with such kind of weapons, frō whose annoyance no man was free, euen in the middest of their owne forces. This storme (vnlooked for) beeing blowne ouer, the *Normans* forth-with ran fiercely vpon the foreward of the *English* Armie, who resoluing rather to die where they stood thē to giue ground, keeping themselues close together, repulsed the enimie with no small losse and disaduātage vnto him. Neuertheles he forthwith gaue a freih assalt, whereat, with terrible outcries both armies rushed one vpon the other. Beeing now coped together at hand blowes, the fight continued very hotlie for a good season, but the *Englishmen* still keeping their aray (as if they had bin linked one to another) resisted the others malice. The *Normans* hauing receiued many wounds were withal ready to giue back, had not the Duke (plaiying the part no lesse of a Souldior then of a vigilant Captain) as much by example as by directiō incoraged thē to stand to it manfully. The fight thus still maintained on either side, the *Norman* horsemen, with all possible force charged vpon  
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them



them, and withall powring out, a new tempest of their airy weapons, with the violent fall of their arrowes, did seeme euen to beate the down to the ground. But the *Englishmen* without any disorder abide this brunt also. For *Harold* performing the part of a most valiant Captaine, was still at hand, where occasion required to incourage his men. Neither came the Duke behinde him in that respect, who hauing now had his horse twice slaine vnder him, and perceauing that by the only vertue of his powre hee should not preuaile; assaied what might be done by slight & policy. Wherefore causing the trumpets to sound a retreat, the *Normans* without breking their array, did retire and giue backe. The *Englishmen* mistaking their meaning, thought the victory now their owne, and withall, (no respect had of keeping order) they pursued them more eagarlie then warily, which the enemy perceauing, & taking the expected aduantage, vpon a sudden turned againe, and redily reducing his troopes into good order, set vpon them a fresh & made a great slaughter of them. Many were beaten downe while they were thinking whether it were better to fight or to flie. But the greater number keeping their stand close together on the heigth of a hill, and incoraging one the other not to shrink, manfully fought it out a long time, as though they had purposely chosen that place to giue the more honor vnto their deaths. In the end *Harold* being

being shot into the head with an arrow, together with *Githe* his brother, yeelded vp their fainting spirits. *Edwine* and *Morcar* with some fewe more escaping by flight, gaue place to time & the diuine prouidence, after the fight had continewed frō the first appearance of daylight vnto the shutting vp of the same. In this battaile were slaine of *Normans* fewe lesse then sixe thousand, but of the *Englishmen* a farre greater number. The Duke hauing obtained this notable victory had no small cause to reioyce thereat: neuerthelesse hee attributed the honour and glory thereof to the giuer of all happinesse, and by publique thankes-giuing acknowledged the same. Hee lodged that night in the field, his pavilion being set vp in the midst of the deade bodies. The next day taking order for the buriall of the dead on both sides, he returned to *Hastings*, as well to consult in what sort to prosecute his late victory, as also to giue some refreshing to his wearied army. But when the wofull relation of this ouerthrow was brought to the Citie of London, and to other parts further of, the whole realme was greatly perplexed therewith, as being then men vtterly forlorne. *Githe* (the mother of *Harold*) after the manner of women, gaue ouer her selfe wholie to greeuous lamentations, and with most humble petition obtaining of the Duke the dead bodies of hir two sonnes, she caused them to be buried in the monasterie of *Waltham*. Earle *Edwine* sent



sent *Algithe* (the Queenes sister) into the furthest partes of the realme, aduising both the Noblemen and commons to awaken their heauie spirits, and to consult betimes vpon some good course for the present reliefe of their distressed & languishing estate. The Archbishop of Yorke, the Londoners and officers of the Nauie, thought it best to make *Edgar Atheling* their King, and to gather new forces out of hand to incounter the Duke. The two Earles *Edwine* and *Morcar* secretly practised how to set the crowne vpon one of their heads. But the Bishops and Prelates, and such other as stood in feare of the Popes thunder-bolts, and damning exsecrations, held it best to submit themselues to the Duke, and no further to prouoke the Conquerors haughty minde by taking armes afresh against him, the successe whereof was doubtfull. Neither would it auaille them any thing, to contend with the diuine providence, which for their outragious sinnes had giuen them into the hands of their enemies the *Normans*. The Duke in the meane time leaving a garrison behind him at *Hastings*, determined to go to *London*, but to strike the more terror into the *Englishmens* hearts, and to make all safe at his backe, he deuided his forces into seuerall companies, who ranging thorow some part of *Kent*, *Sussex*, *Surrie*, *Hampshire*, and *Berkshire*, wasted and burned all the townes and villages that stood in their way, carrying with them whatsoever they found worth the taking. Then passing ouer *Theames* at *Walling-*

*Wallingford*, they filled euery place with horror & trembling. The great men were so possessed with inward distrust and enuy one at another, that they wholly neglected the care they should haue taken for the good of the common-weale. For to auoide the ecclesiasticall censure & threats of the Bishop of *Rome* ( who now began to tyrannize not onely ouer the vulgar and inferior sort: but also ouer mightie Kings and kingdomes ) the realme being fallie into a most desperate estate, they so firmly resolu'd to yeeld themselves, that therevpon many prouiding in time for their best safetie, left the Citie to all aduentures. *Alfred* Archbishop of *Yorke*, *Wolstaine* Bishop of *Worcester*, & diuers other great Prelats, together with *Edgar Atheling*, *Edwine* and *Morcay*, mette the Duke at *Barkhamsted*, & giuing pledges for the assurance of their fidelitie, submitted themselves vnto him. Then posting presently to *London*, he was with great ioy and solemne acclamation intertain'd, and saluted with *Viue le Roy*. The Duke forthwith prepared al things fit for his coronation, which by his appointment was solemnized the Christmas following. In the meane time he wholly busied himselfe, how to order euery thing for the more firme establishment of his newly atchieued & conquered kingdome.

Here ended the gouernment of the *Saxon* Kings ouer this land, hauing continued 600. yeares. Some did attribute this notorious alteration and change, to the corruption in the magistrates, and the superstitious cowardlinesse of the Cleargie, others



others to the influence of a Conset: others immediately referred the cause thereof to the diuine prouidence, that disposeth of Kingdomes by an vnknowne, but neuer vniust sentence and decree. But they that more strictly examined that point, and looked into the next appearing cause, cast the blame chiefly vpon King *Edward*, who thorough a vaine glorious shoue of religious chastitie, tooke no more care to raise vp seede vnto himselfe, for want whereof his Kingdome after his death was left a prey to the ambition of man.

These *Normanes* were a mixt people of *Norwegians*, *Suevians* and *Danes*, who in the time of *Charles* the great exercised piracie vpon these Coasts. At length by strong hand they seated themselves in that part of *France* which they hold till this day, about the mouth of the Riuer of *Sene*. That prouince was thē called *Neustria* and now *Normandie* of the name *Norman*, giuen vnto them because they came out off the North parts. These people so much preuailed afterwards against *Charles* of *France* (surnamed the Simple) that he was constrained to make peace with them, by giuing his Daughter in marriage to *Rollo* their Prince, together with that whole Prouince for her Dowrie, whereof hee created him Duke, from whom this Duke *William* was the fift in lineall descent that succeeded after him.

Having

Having thus farre proceeded , and brought  
this our most noble and flourishing Iland of *Brit-  
taine* vnder the seuerall gouernements of the two  
absolute Kings of *England* and *Scotland*; my pur-  
pose is as briefly as I can to prosecute the ioynt  
History of these two Nations, onely so farre  
forth, as the matter shall concerne them  
both, whether it tendeth to warre  
and variance , or to peace  
and amitie.





of King James first presented, and brought  
in, our noble and flourishing hand of  
the most illustrious potentates of the two  
nations, King of England and Scotland, my dear  
brothers, be it to protect the joyous  
union of the two kingdoms to last  
as long as the sun shall continue to shine  
and shine, and shine to the world  
and shine, or so long  
as the sun shall shine.



# William the Conquerour

*King of England.*



**D**Vke *William* hauing by force of armes in manner aforesaid obtained the Soueraigntie ouer this land, was with much solemnitie crowned King of *England* on Christmas day, in the yeare of our redemption 1066. who taking vpon him the part of a Conqueror, performed the same in his right kind: for abrogating the ancient lawes and customes of the land, hee established others, such as either he had brought out of *Normandie*, or that he thought more fitte for the present gouernment of the *English* nation. And further, taking from the *Englishmen* their lands and possessions, hee bestowed them on his followers and partakers in his conquest, at his owne will and pleasure. Herevpon (as also by manie other extremities dayly offered more and more, to all degrees and estates,) the great men especially, who (thorow the greatnesse of their mindes) could worst indure so many indignities, conuaied them-selues out of the realme, some into one country, some into another, hoping to finde such fauour with forraigne Princes, as with their helpe they might happily one day finde meanes to bee restored againe to their former estates and dignities in their native Countrey.

Amongst



Amongst these *Edgar Atheling* (whom this bu-  
sinesse concerned more then any of the rest) pur-  
posing to haue sailed into *Germanie* to his friends  
and alliance there, together with his mother and  
two sisters, was by contrary windes (as the Lord  
would haue it) driuen into *Scotland*, where they  
were curteously intertained of *Malcolme* (furna-  
med *Cammore*) the King of that Countrie, the  
rather because they were of the bloud and lineage  
of King *Edward* the Confessor, by whose especi-  
all meanes he had beene established in his King-  
dome. Shortly after in respect (no doubt) of the  
possibilitie wherein shee stood to come by the  
Crowne of *England* after her brother, King *Mal-  
solme* tooke to wife the Lady *Marguerit*, the el-  
der sister. This marriage was solemnized about  
Easter next following, in the yeare 1067. King  
*William* hearing what had passed in *Scotland*, and  
fearing lest this alliance might worke him some  
displeasure (for *Edgar* had many well-willers in  
*England*) forth-with sent an Harold of Armes to  
King *Malcolme* for the deliuey of him, which if  
it would not be granted, then he should denounce  
open warre against him. Answer was here-unto  
made, that hee held it a very vniust thing, yea a  
very wicked part for him to deliuer *Edgar* into  
his hands, that onely for feare of the losse of his  
life was forced to flie out off *England*, beeing of  
that innocent carriage and demeanor towards  
the King his Maister, that euen his greatest  
aduersaries

aduersaries could no way touche him with the least suspicion of disloyaltie. Further that he was now bound ( besides the respect of ordinary humanitie in this case ) by more straight bands of neere alliance, to tender his estate. So as King *Malcome* was no whit terrified with these threats, still intertaining *Edgar* his friends, that dayly repaired into *Scotland*, by whom King *Malcome* being encouraged, tooke the oportunitie that was offered. For whilest King *William* was occupied in pursuing the *English* Rebels, he with his armie entred into *England*, wasting and spoiling the countries of *Theisdale* and *Cleueland*, and the lands of Saint *Cutbert*, with diuers other in those parts. For the suppressing of whom, King *William* sent *Gospatrike*, whom he had lately before made Earle of *Northumberland*, in the place of *Syward*, that tooke part against him with the *Scottes* and *Englishmen* their adherents. Enttring into those parts, he made the like spoile, as was before made by the *Scottes*, so as those countries were grieuouſlie afflicted on both sides. But yet their miseries had no end, for *Gospatrike* was no sooner returned, but the *Scots* enttring those countries againe, exceeding their former cruelty vpon the poore inhabitanee. King *William* to giue end to these extremities, hauing assembled a mighty armie, in his owne person, entred into *Scotland* about the middest of August, pursuing the *English* rebels and their partakers into *Galloway*, but they being

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not



not disposed to abide his approach, fled vnto the Mountaines; wherefore giuing them ouer, hee turned his forces into *Lothiane*, where he vnderstood that king *Malcome* was incamped with all his whole powre, purposing to make a conquest of *Scotland* also. But when these two puissant armies were euen ready to assaile one the other, the *Scottish* king distrusting his strength, and fearing the fortune of the Conqueror, sent an *Harrald* of *Armes* to enter into treatie of a firme peace betweene the two Nations, wherevnto king *William* was drawne at the length, on these conditions. First that king *Malcome* should doe homage vnto the king of *England* for the realme of *Scotland*. On the other side that king *William* should pardon all those *Englismē* which then tooke part with *Malcome* against him. Further to auoide all occasion of quarrell that happily might afterwards arise about the limits & bounds of the two kingdoms, it was agreed vpon, that a crosse of stone should be erected in *Steenmore* (which tooke that name of the nature of the soile, which was very stonie) bearing the *Armes* and Image of the king of *England*, on the South-side thereof, and on the contrary-side the *armes* and Image likewise of the king of *Scotland*, which while it stood for many yeares after was called the crosse of the kings. Thus were they accorded, and thence forth continued in friendship while they liued together. King *William* in his returne tooke the Earledome of *Northumberland* from *Gospatricke* (on whom he had lately bestowed

bestowed the same) and gaue it to *Waltheof* the sonne of *Siward* deceased, that held it in the right of *Alfred* his wife, the daughter & heire of *Aldread* some-time Earle of that Prouince. *Waltheof* was in that fauour with the king, that shortly after he gaue him to wife the lady *Judith* his neece, daughter to *Lambert* Earle of *Leux*, with all the lands belonging to the honor of *Huntington*, whereby he became Earle of *Northumberland & Huntington*. Notwithstanding these especial fauours, *Waltheof* not long after entred into a conspiracy against the king, which although he disclosed before it brake out into open warre, king *William* was so highly offended thereat, that he caused him to be beheaded, not without some note of cruelty, hauing reuealed the whole practise, and submitted himselfe to the kings mercy. *Edgar Atheling* returning out of *Scotland*, obtained the kings fauour, & was highly aduanced, but to auoid further danger (in which case a Prince cannot be too circumspect) he was not admitted without leaue to depart the Court while he liued.

*King William* the Conqueror being deceased in the 20. yeare of his raigne, about 14. yeares after the former conclusion of peace, whether it was to reuenge the death of Earle *Waltheof* his cousine germaine, executed as before you haue heard, or whether he was drawn on by an ambitious humor to inlarge his dominions, or (as some haue rather thought) prouoked therevnto by some vnkindnes offred by *K. Willia Rufus*, who succeeded his father

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1087.

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here; whatsoeuer the cause was, King *Malcolme* taking the oportunitie, while the King and his elder brother *Robert Duke of Normandie* were at some variance about the Crowne, entred with his Armie into *Northumberland*, preying vpon the inhabitants as farre as *Chester*, in the street. The King of *England* sent such forces against him, as that entring into *Scotland*, they tooke the Castell of *Anwicke*, putting all to the sword that made resistance, where leauing a garrison for the defence thereof, the army returned home. And for the better restraint of further molestation on that side, the King caused the City and Castell of *Carleil*, (which had beene ruinated by the *Danes* about 200. yeares before) to be reedified and peopled againe, granting many priuiledges to the inhabitants, which they enioy to this day. King *Malcolme* being not a little discontented with the losse of *Anwicke*, shortly after gathered a new powre & laide siege to the towne, wherat both he himsele, and Prince *Edward* his eldest sonne, by one misfortune or other (for the writers agree not on that point) lost their liues, & the whole army put to flight. This came to passe in the 36. yeare of King *Malcolme* his raigne, and in the sixt of King *William Rufus*: Anno. 1093. Though this *Malcome* had in his time much disturbed the *Englsh* nation by sundrie harmefull inuasions, neuerthelesse by the meanes of his foresaid marriage with the sister of *Edgar Atheling*, the realme of

of *England* became of an open and professed enemy, an assured friend, yea euen a very sanctuarie to his poore Orphaine children: for their yncle *Edgar* (a man of great sanctimonie and fidelitie) wisely foreseeing, and warily preventing the danger wherein those babes stood, vnder the vsurped gouernment of *Donald* their fathers brother, sent presently for them into *England*. The three sonnes *Edgar*, *Alexander*, and *David*, succeeded one the other in their Fathers kingdome: *Mawde* the eldest Daughter (surnamed the Good) was afterwards married to the first *Henry* King of *England*. *Mary* the other daughter, to *Eustace* Earle of *Buthloine* the base, whose daughter (named after her Mother) was married to *Stephen* King of *England*. This happy progenie (the more happy for the vertues of their deceased Mother and liuing Vncle) were not onely educated at his charge, and instructed in all good nurture bebecoming their birth and lineage: but also when the young Prince *Edgar* was come to ripe age, *Edgar* his Vncle obtained of king *William Rufus* a competent powre, wherewith now the second time (for once before hee had with the like helpe expulsed *Donald*, and crowned *Duncam*, king *Malcomes* base Sonne in his place) hee vtterly expelled *Donald*, and set Prince *Edgar* in full and peaceable possession of the Crowne of *Scotland*, which hee enioyed during his life.



1100.

*King William* shortly after deceasing without issue, his brother *Henry* (the Conquerors yongest sonne) was admitted king of *England* by the generall consent of the whole nation, Anno 1100. *King Edgar* not onely renewed the league with him, which before was continued with *Rufus*, but for the more strengthening of the same, he gaue the Lady *Mawde* (his eldest sister) vnto him in marriage, (as is aforesaid) by whom he had issue that liued, *Mawde* the Empresse, Mother to *Henry* the second, afterwards king of *England*. The mutuall amitie that by this mariage was nourished betweene these two nations during the life of this *Henry*, and the *Queenes* brothers (*Edgar* and *Alexander*,) was confirmed by the mariage also of *David* her yongest brother, with an other *Mawde*, the Daughter and heire of *Waltheoff* late Earle of *Northumberland & Huntingo*, as before you haue heard; by which mariage, that Earldome, with a great part of *Northumberland* and *Westmerland*, were annexed to the Crowne of *Scotland*, as afterwards shall better appeare.

1135.

*Henry* the first, departing out of this life, in the sixe and thirtieth yeare of his raigne, leaft to succeed him onely a Daughter: for his sonnes were both drowned in their passage hither out of *Normandie*. This Lady was first married to the Emperour *Henry* the 4. who dying without issue, she was married againe to *Geffery Plantagenet* Earle of *Angoul*

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ion, by whom she had issue while her father liued,  
*Henry the 2.* afterwards king of *England*. Notwith-  
standing that *Stephen* Earle of *Boloigne*, nephew to  
the last deceased king (for *Adela* his mother was  
one of the daughters of *William* the Conqueror)  
had together with the rest of the nobility tworne  
vnto King *Henry*, to admit his daughter the Em-  
presse, to succeed him as lawfull heire to the  
Crowne of *England*: hee nothing regarding his  
oath, made no scruple to intrude himselfe into  
the royall throne. Immediately whervpon he sent  
an Ambassage vnto *K. David* of *Scotland*, demand-  
ing homage as wel for that realme, as for all other  
the lands & signories which he held of him with-  
in *England*: where-vnto *K. David* answered; that  
both *Stephen*, he himselfe, with all the nobility of  
*England*, were all seuerally bound by oath to the  
obedience of the Empresse his neece, as the only  
lawfull and liniall heire to King *Henry* her father,  
whereof he for his part made that conscience, as  
that during her life he would neuer acknowledge  
any other true inheritor to the crowne of *Englad*.  
King *Stephen* not a little displeased with this his  
resolute answer, inuaded the territories of *Scot-*  
*land*, where-vpon much trouble arose to both na-  
tions. But after the warre had continued 2. or 3.  
yeares, with equall losse on both sides, in the end,  
thorough the mediatio<sup>n</sup> especially of the Queene  
of *England* (who was also Neece to *K. David* by  
his other Sister *Mary* Countesse of *Boloigne*, as



hath beene afore-said) a peace was concluded on these conditions. That the Counties of *North-mumberland* and *Huntington* should remaine in the possession of Prince *Henry* of *Scotland* as heire vnto them in the right of his Mother, but *Cumberland* should bee thence-forth held and reputed the lawefull inheritance of king *Dauid*, that both Father and Sonne should acknowledge and yeelde to king *Stephen* and his successors for the time, being for these signories the accustomed seruices due for the same. King *Stephen* was the more willing to yeelde herevnto, by reason of his infinite troubles, which daylie more and more increased by the plottes and practises of the friends of the Empresse, neuer ceasing to worke him all the displeasure that possibly they could devise, the victory falling sometimes on the one side, and sometimes on the other. Such was the estate of this Land, during his whole raigne for the space of eightene years. In the meane season though king *Dauid* preferred the iust title of the Empresse before the colourable pretext of *Stephen*, yet hee so much regarded the worde of a king, that although hee was (no doubt) greatly solicited by the Empresse, to breake of with her aduersary, yet would hee not bee drawne at any time therevnto, although that troublesome season, offred him fit opportunity for his owne aduantage, which commendable and Christian resolution well appeared in him

him when as afterward hee intertayned Prince *Henry* Sonne to the Empresse at *Carlisle*, who being come thither accompaigned with the Earles of *Chester* and *Hereford*, and diuerse other noblemen and gentlemen of good account both of *England* and *Normandie*, of purpose (as it seemed) to draw the king to their part (whose assistance only wanted to the expelling of the vsurper) hee would by no means breake his faith with *England*, but resting quiet at home, nothing was at that time further attempted, whereof king *Stephen* was much afraid. At this meeting the yong Prince together with some other of like age his companions in this iorney, receiued the order of knight-hood at the hands of king *Dauid*, within foure years after, these two kings deceased nere together, the one hauing raigned ouer *Scotland* thirty yeares in great tranquillity, the other hardly twenty ouer *England* with continuall vexation and infelicity, and as they ended, so their successors beganne to raigne together, *Henry* the Empresse her Sonne ouer this nation, about the age of twenty yeares, & his Cousin *Malcolme* king *Dauids* grand-child (for Prince *Henry* died before his Father) ouer the other about 13. years old. In the persō of this *Henry* the crowne of *England* was restored to the *Saxon* blood by the Mother side, hauing continued in the Conqueror and his two Sonnes about 68. years, & now by marriage transferred to the house of *Plantagenet*, an other family of *France*.  
Hereof



Herof had *Lewis* the *French* king no good liking, being vnwilling that fo mighty a Prince, and so neare a neighbour should haue such foot-hold with in his dominions; for in the right of his wife *Queene Elionor* ( who had beene before deuorced from *Lewis*) hee had attained the possession of the Duchy of *Aquitane* and the Earle-dome of *Poitou*, by his mother the Empresse he inioyed the Duchy of *Normandy*, & in his Fathers right hee seized (not without some hard measure, towards his brother *Geffrey* vnto whom their Father by his last Testament had giuen the same ) vpon the Earledomes of *Aniou*, *Touraigne*, and *Maine*. Neuerthelesse hee subtilely couered his malice vnder pretext of dissembled alliance, least otherwise he should haue had lesse aduantage of him. But King *Henry* perceiuing the deceite, was too wise to be caught by such a Traine, and therefore vpon the first occasion that was offered he opposed his open force against the others secret practises, but first, as well to keepe all safe at home on that side: as also for the better trayning of the young Prince in feates of Armes and Martiall discipline, vnder pretence of the performance of the seruices due for the Landes hee held of him, within the Realme of *England*, hee procured King *Malcolme* to accompanie him ouer into *Normandie*, where hauing spent some time ( not a little to the losse of King *Lewis* ) and requited the curtesie of

of King *Dauid*, by bestowing the like honour on him, as before he had receiued, they returned together hither againe, and then taking his leaue of King *Henrie* hee was honourable attended home into *Scotland*. His Nobilitie repairing vnto the Court, King *Malcolme* made relation of all that had happened in this his iourney, whereat they seemed much discontented: attributing vnto him want of discretion, that hee would be induced (or rather so much seduced) as to beare Armes in the quarrell, of an vndoubted enemy, against the *French* King and his subiects their antient and assured friend and Allie, that hee little considered the drift of King *Henrie*, who sought nothing more then by some meanes to bring him into distrust and disgrace with King *Lewis*, to the end hee might the more safelie offer him whatsoeuer hard measure hee did meane towards him. With these and such like speeches tending wholie to withdraw their Kings affection from King *Henrie* (hee wanting yeares and thereby iudgement, to sound the deapth of this deuise) was too easily drawne into the *French* faction: for by taking part with *France* against *England*, their maintenance hath beene alwayes much amended. When King *Henrie* had knowledge hereof, to the end he might in due time prouide a remedie for this growing on maladie, hee caused King *Malcolme* to bee summoned to make his personall appea-



appearance, at his high Court of Parliament holden at *Yorke*, whether beeing come at the appointed time, hee was charged to haue so grievously offended, that therevpon by authoritie of the same Court he was finally adiudged to haue forfeited all those lands and Seignories which he held within *England*, but in the end by mediation (no doubt) of the Empresse, the king her son was intreated to restore his cousin to his possessions in *Cumberland* & the County of *Huntingdon*, only reseruing *Northumberland* wholly on condition that doing homage vnto Prince *Henry* the kings son, (in manner as all the Nobilitie of *England* had also done) he should further deliver into his hands his yonger brother *David*, and certaine other the sonnes of the Lords of *Scotland*, as pledges for the assurance of an inuiolable peace betweene the two Nations. All which were performed, and peace a long time continued. Within three yeares after, king *Malcolme* deceased, hauing liued five and twenty yeares, and raigned not much aboue twelue, whom *William* his second brother succeeded in the yeare of our Redemption 1165. Shortly after his Coronatiō he repaired to London & did homage to king *Henry* in manner as before his brother had done, requesting the king to restore vnto him *Northumberland*, which hee chalenged as his proper right. The other answered, that it rested not in his powre to dispose thereof, without the consent of

1165.

of his subjects, that as by Parliament the same was taken from his brother, he would so farre yeelde vnto his demand as to the like assemble should seeme reasonable; which the King afterwards performed accordingly, rendring so much of *Northumberland*, as King *Malcolme* his great Grandfather was seised of at the time of the Cōposition made with the Conqueror, for the space of eight or nine yeares following these two Kings liued peaceably together, and one to the other shewed great kindnesse, so as King *William* at one iourney accompanied the other into *Normandy*, and sundry times afterwards repayred to the English Court, where hee was euer ioyfully and royally intertained. *Dauid* his brother was also louingly entreated during his abroad in *England*, and at *Windfor* honored by King *Henrie* with the order of Knight-hood. Thenceforth hee followed the King of *England* in his warres in *France* although he was sondry waies attempted to haue beene drawne to the aduerse parte. But in processe of time, which worketh alteration in all estates, thorough the instigation especially of *Lewis the French King* (who had now set the two *Henries*, the Father and the sonne, one against the other) Amongst diuerse other as well of the Nobilitie of *England* as of forraine Princes. King *William* was likewise won to take part with the young King (for his Father had caused him to be crowned) in that vnnaturall strife & contention.

So



So as while king *Henry* the Father was set on worke on the other side of the Sea by his seditious sonnes (for the rest tooke part with their eldest brother) & the realme much disquieted with in it selfe, by the Earles of *Lecester*, *Chester*, *Lincoln*, *Norfolk*, and diuers other domesticall complices of this dangerous conspiracie: the *Scottish* king hauing gathered a mightie armie, entred therewith into the Marches of *England*: tooke the Castels of *Brough* & *Applebie* with some other, sent part of his Army into *Kendale*, wasting the country where it passed in most hostile manner. For the suppressing of these insolencies certaine of the kings friends assembled theselues to the number of 400. horsemen vnder the leading of *Robert de Stoutenille*, *Ralph Glanville*, *William Vescie*, *Barnard Balliol* and *Odonette de Humfrenille*, who coming to *Anwick* (from the siege whereof king *William* was departed the same day) tooke consultation what was best to be done. Very early the next morning they followed the *Scots*, who little looking for any resistance then in readines, left their king but slenderly attended and dispersed themselves abroad to wast and forrage the country. This beeing made known to the *Englishmen*, they pursued the aduantage with so good successe, that with the losse of very little bloud on eyther side, they tooke king *William* prisoner in the midst of his strength, but yet not so neere as thereby hee could be rescued.

This

This happened on the seventh of Iuly in the  
yeare 1174. king *Henry* at the same time was  
newely returned out off *Normandie*, to whom  
the *Scotish* king was shortly after presented at  
*North-Hampton*, and *Dauid* his Brother was li-  
censed forth-with to repaire into *Scotland*, to  
containe the same in their due obedience, whilst  
the Kings pleasure should bee further knowne,  
concerning the deliury of the King his priso-  
ner. In the meane season the *French* king bee-  
ing wearied with the charge of this Warre in  
the behalfe of his sonne in lawe King *Henrie*  
the younger ( for hee had nowe married the  
Lady *Margeret* his Daughter ) offered him-  
selfe to become a meane to make an accord be-  
twene the two *Henries*, where-vpon the warre  
ceased, and after a meeting or two for that pur-  
pose, in the end this vnnaturall dissention be-  
twene king *Henry* and his Sonnes ( which had  
continued well neere two yeares to the great  
discomfort of the Father, and vexation of the  
whole Realme ) was well appeased. Here-vpon  
the *Scotish* king, who remained prisoner at *Fa-  
leise* in *Normandie*, amongst other of the same  
faction, to the number well neere of a thou-  
sand persons of especiall qualitie ( that at one  
time or other during these warres, were also  
taken prisoners ) were by king *Henrie*, accor-  
ding to the Articles of agreement, set at libertie,  
in manner as were all they, that by the aduerse  
part,



part, had beene likewise taken prisoners in the King of *Englands* seruice. Now againe was amitie and concorde imbraced and cherished on all sides. For the *Scotish* King hauing left behinde him sufficient pledge for the performance of covenants, was permitted to returne into *Scotland*, where hauing spent some sixe or seauen months, he together with *David* his Brother, and a great number of the Nobility and Clergie of that Realme, repayred to *Torke* about the twentieth of August, where they did homage to the King of *England* in *S. Peters* Church, and in token thereof King *William* offered vp his Saddle and hat on the Alter of *S. Peter*, which remained there along time after. Finally it was concluded that the *Scotish* king should become and acknowledge himselfe to be the king of *Englands* Liegman against all men for the Realme of *Scotland* and his other Lands within *England*, and for them should doe fealty to the King of *England* as to his soueraign Lord in manner as other his liedge people accustomed to doe. And further that hee should also do fealty to the Lord *Henry* the King of *Englands* son (sauiing alwayes the faith which hee ought to the King his Father) Also that all the Prelates of *Scotland*, and their successors should acknowledg their accustomed subiection to the Church of *England*, and do fealty to the king of *England*, so many of them as he should appoint. And likewise that the Earles and Barons of *Scotland*, and their

their heires for their part should do homage and fealtie vnto the King of England and to the Lord Henry his Sonne, lo many of them as thereto should bee called, as in the Charter following, then openly read in Saint Peters Church, more at large appeareth.

*Wilhelmus Rex Scotie deuenit homo ligius Domini regis Anglie contra omnes homines, de Scotia & de alijs terris suis, & fidelitatem ei fecit vt ligio domino suo, sicut alij homines sui ipsi facere solent. Similiter fecit homagium Henrico filio regis (salua fide Domini regis Patris sui) omnes vero Episcopi, Abbates, & Clerus terræ Scotie, & successores sui facient Domino regi sicut ligio Domino fidelitatem, de quibus habere voluerit, sicut alij Episcopi sui ipsi facere solent, & Henrico filio suo & heredibus eorum. Concessit autem rex Scotie & Dauid frater eius, & Barones, & alij homines sui Domino Regi. Quod Ecclesia Scotie talem subiectionem amodo faciet Ecclesie Anglie, qualem facere debet & solebat tempore regum Anglie predecessorum suorum. Similiter Richardus Episcopus Sancti Andreæ, & Richardus Episcopus Dunkelden, & Gaufridus Abbas de Dunfermlyn, & Herbertus Prior de Coldingham concesserunt, vt ecclesia Anglicana illud habeat ius in ecclesia Scotie, quod de iure debet habere: & quod ipsi non erint contra ius Anglicanæ ecclesie. Et de hac concessione, sicut quando ligiam fidelitatē domino regi, & domino Henrico filio suo fecerint, ita eos inde asscurauerint.*



Hoc idem facient alij episcopi & clerus Scotiæ, per conuentionem inter Dominum regem Scotiæ & Dauid fratrem suum & barones suos factam. Comites & Barones & alij homines de terra regis Scotiæ (de quibus dominus rex habere voluerit) facient ei homagium contra omnem hominem & fidelitatem ut ligio domino suo, sicut alij homines sui facere ei solent. Et Henrico filio suo & heredibus suis, (salua fide domini regis patris sui.) Similiter Heredes regis Scotiæ & Baronum & hominum suorum homagium & ligantiam facient heredibus Domini regis contra omnem hominem. Præterea rex Scotiæ & homines sui nullum amodo fugitiuum de terra domini regis pro feloniam receptabunt, vel in alia terra sua, nisi voluerit venire ad rectum in curia domini regis, & stare iudicio Curie. Sed rex Scotiæ et homines sui quam citius poterunt eum capient & domino regi reddent, vel Iusticiarijs suis aut balliuis suis in Anglia. Si autem de terra regis Scotiæ aliquis fugitiuus fuerit pro feloniam in Anglia, nisi voluerit venire ad rectum in curiam domini regis Scotiæ & stare iudicio curie, non receptabitur in terra regis, sed liberabitur hominibus regis Scotiæ, per balliuos domini regis ubi inuentus fuerit. Præterea homines domini regis habebunt terras suas quas habebant, & habere debent de domino rege & hominibus suis, & de rege Scotiæ & hominibus suis. Et homines regis Scotiæ habebunt terras suas quas habebant & habere debent de domino rege & hominibus suis. Pro ista verò conuentione & sine firmiter obseruando domino regi &

Henrico

Henrico filio suo, & heredibus suis, à rege Scotiae & heredibus suis, liberauit rex Scotiae domino Regi castellum de Rockesburgh & castellum Puellarum, & castellum de Striuelinge in manu domini Regis, & ad custodienda castella assignabit rex Scotiae de redditu suo mensurabiliter ad voluntatem domini Regis. Præterea pro prædicta conventionione & sine exequendo, liberabit rex Scotiae domino Regi David fratrem suum in obsidem & comitem Duncanum, & comitem Waldenum, similiter alios comites & Barones cum alijs viris potentibus, quorum numerus octo-decem. Et quando Castella reddita fuerint illis, Rex Scotiae & David frater eius liberabuntur. Comites quidem & Barones prænominati unusquisque postquam liberauerit obsidem suum, scilicet filium legitimum, (qui habuerit) & alij, nepotes suos, vel propinquiores sibi heredes, & castellis (ut dictum est) redditis, liberabuntur. Præterea Rex Scotiae & Barones sui prænominati asscurauerint, quod ipsi bona fide, & sine malo ingenio, & sine occasione facient, ut Episcopi & Barones & ceteri homines terra sue, qui non assuerunt, quando rex Scotiae cum domino Rege finiuit, eandem ligiantiam & fidelitatem domino Regi & Henrico filio suo quum ipsi fecerunt: et ut Barones & homines qui assuerunt, obsides liberabunt domino Regi, de quibus habere voluerit. Præterea Episcopi, Comites, & Barones conventionauerunt domino Regi et Henrico filio suo: Quod si Rex Scotiae aliquo casu, a fidelitate domini



regis & filij, & a conuentione predicta recederit: ipsicum Domino Rege tenebunt, sicut cum ligio domino suo, contra regem Scotia, & contra omnes homines ei inimicantes. Et episcopi sub interdicto ponent terram regis Scotia donec ipse ad fidelitatem Domini Regis redeat. Predicta itaque conuentionem firmiter obseruandum bone fide, & sine malo ingenio, Domino Regi & Henrico filio suo, & heredibus suis, & Wilhelmo Rege Scotia & Dauid fratre suo, & Baronibus suis predictis & heredibus eorum, assicuraui ipse Rex Scotia, & Dauid frater eius, & omnes Barones sui prænominati sicut ligij homines domini Regis contra omnem hominem, & Henrici filij Regis, (salua fidelitate patris sui) hijs testibus. Richardo episcopo Arintensi, Iohanne Salisburia Decano, Roberto Abbate Malmesburia, Radulpho Abbate Mundesburg, nec non alijs abbatibus, comitibus, & baronibus, & duobus filiis suis, scilicet Richardo & Galfrido. ex Rog. Houeden.

Besides the deliury of the three Castles expressed in the former Charter, the Scottish King did absolutely depart with all and surrender vnto King Henry and to his Heires for euer, the Towne and Castell of Berwicke, which forthwith was committed to the custody of Sir Geffrey Neuille, The Castles of Edenbrough and Rockesburgh were likewise kept by the kings apointment, by Sir Roger and Sir William de Stutwille.

This

This meeting at *Torke* was in the yeare 1175. 1175.  
where this businesse beeing dispatched the two  
Kings departed in kindnesse, the one into *Scot-*  
*land*, the other towards *London*. Not long af-  
ter, king *William* vpon his summons repayed  
to *North-Hampton*, where King *Henrie* had called  
a Parliament. Diuerse Bishops and Abbotes of  
*Scotland* attended their king thither to acknow-  
ledge their subiection to the Church of *England*  
according to the Articles comprised in the for-  
mer Charter, and their ancient custome in for-  
mer times, but by no meanes they would yeeld  
thereunto, notwithstanding that the Archbishop  
of *Torke* shewed sufficient proues and priuileges  
granted by sundrie Bishops of *Rome*, iustifying  
the right he pretended to the primacie ouer all  
the *Scotish* Clergie. But because the Archbi-  
shop of *Canterburie* hoped to bring them vn-  
der his iurisdiction, or else enuying that his in-  
ferior should be axalted so farre aboue him, hee  
so wrought with the king his Maister, as that  
for the present there was no subiection ac-  
knowledgeed eyther to the one or other. These  
two kings liued together in all loue and kind-  
nesse in so much as the king of *England* im-  
ployed king *William* in his absence, in his more  
weighty affayres in *Normandie*. Also hee gaue  
vnto him to wife his cousin the Ladie *Ermen-*  
*gard*, Daughter to *Richard Vicount Beaumonte*  
that was sonne to a Daughter of king *William*



the Conquerour. The mariage was solemnized at *Woodstocke* at the charge of the King, who withall resigned to the Bridegroom his whole interest in the Castell of *Edenbrough*, which King *William* forth-with bestowed vpon his new Wife, as a portion of her dowrie, augmenting the same with an hundred pounds land by the yeare, and fortie knights fees. Not long before this marriage, *David* king *Williams* Brother had married also an English woman named *Mawde*, one of the Daughters of *Hugh Bohun* Earle of *Chester*, otherwise called *Kene-locke*, by which marriage hee was strongly allyed with the Nobilitie of *England*: for his wiues three Sisters, *Mabell*, *Agnes*, and *Hauise*, were married to *Daubigne* Earle of *Arundell*, *Ferrers* Earle of *Darbye*, and to *Quincie* Earle of *Lincolne*. These mariages were meanes of good agreement betweene these two nations for a long time after. Within two or three yeares after the marriage of king *William*, king *Henry* deceased, in the fivie and thirtith yeare of his raigne, whome his two Sonnes *Richard* and *John* succeeded one after the other. During the raigne of the former, no occasion of quarrell was offered on either side, but the two kings liued together in all familiaritie and perfect friendship: for immediatly after the coronation of king *Richard*, the *Scotish* king being honourable attended with the Archbishop of

of *Torke* ( the kings base Brother ) and with diuerse Barons and others of *England*, passed thorough the realme to *Canterburie*, where king *Richard* had assembled in counsell his Lords spirituall and temporall.

At this meeting, king *William* and *Dauid* his Brother, together, with the *English* Lords, tooke an oathe to continue true to the king of *England*, and to abide in due obedience vnder him and his lawes, beeing now to leaue them for a season: for hee was so farre passed on his iourney towards the Holy-land, as it was then called. And the more firmly to binde the *Scottish* king by his liberalitie to the obseruance of this othe, hee there restored vnto him all the other three Castles at *Berwicke*, *Rockesbrough* and *Sterlinge*, and withall that parte of *Northumberland*, which king *Henrie* his Father had taken from him when hee was his prisoner. Further king *Richard* resigned vnto him the counties of *Cumberland* and *Huntington*, but with this condition, that all the Castels should still abide in the custodie of such as king *Richard* should place in them.

Lastly he released him of all further paiments and summes of money due for his ransome, excepting tenne thousand markes, which king *Richard* presently receiued towards the charge of his iourney. King *William* to gratifie the king of *Englands* liberalitie, furnished his brother



*David* (on whome hee then bestowed the Earldome of *Huntington*) with five hundred *Scotishmen* to attend and serue him in that enterprize against the *Sarazines*. Thus parted these two Kings in most louing manner, with so faithfull a farewell, as that when *John* (the Kings brother) hearing of his imprisonment in his returne, would haue drawne the *Scotish* King to haue taken his part in the attaining of the Crowne in his brothers absence (being set on worke by the *French* King) he vtterly refused to ioyne therein with *John*, which was the break-neck of that vn-naturall attempt. But when King *William* vnderstood of the King of *England* his returne home, hee together with Earle *David* his brother (who a little before was returned into *Scotland*) presentlie repayred to the *English* Court, where being intertained with all kinde of courtesies, in token of the ioye that hee had vnfainedly conceiued for the King of *England* his safe returne thorow so many great dangers, hee presented him with two thousand markes, towards the redeeming of his libertie. To gratifie this his kindnesse, King *Richard* granted to him by speciall Charter, and to his heires kings of *Scotland* for euer, that when-so-euer hee or any of them should by sommons repaire into *England* vnto the Court, the Bishop of *Durham* and the shi-riffe of *Northumberland*, for the time beeing, should receaue him at the water of *Tweede*, and safely

safely conduct him to the water of *Thames*, where the Archbishop of *Yorke*, and the Sheriffe of the Shire should receiue him of them, and from thence to attend him to the border of the next shire, and in this manner to be attended from shire to shire, by Prelates and Sheriffes, vntill hee came to the Court, and an honourable allowance was made him, wherewith to defray such expences, as hee and his traine were put vnto, during their abode in *England*.

While king *William* remained at the Court, king *Richard* (thereby to put away as it were the reproche of his late captiuitie) caused himselfe to bee crowned againe, whereat (for the more honour of that solemnitie) it pleased king *William* to carie one of the three Swords of estate before the King, accompanied on his right hand with *Hamling* Earle of *Warwicke*, and on the other with *Ranulphe* Earle of *Chester*, in manner as his Brother Earle *Dauid* had done before, at the Kings first Coronation, saue that the first place was then giuen to Earle *Iohn* his Brother. This feast was kept at *Winchester* on the seauenteenth day of Aprill, Anno 1194. king *William* beeing now at the point to depart homewards offered the king fifteene thousand markes for the whole country of *Northumberland*, in manner as Prince *Henry* his father (who neuer came to the crowne) held the same.

1194.

The



The king yeelded here-vnto, so as the Castles were excepted, but still hee importuned him for them also. The King answered, that at his returne againe (for now he was ready to passe into *Normandie*) hee should finde him willing to satisfie him in any reasonable sort. But it was king *Richard*es happe after many victories ouer the *French* Nation during his aboade on that side the Sea for the space of fowre yeares, in the end to die of a wound which hee receiued at the siege of the Castle of *Chalme* by an inuenomed Dart, as he was viewing where he might best vndermine the same. Thus ended king *Richard*, after hee had raigned nine yeares and as many months: Where-vpon *John* Earle of *Mortaigne* his Brother beeing then also on that side the Sea, thorough the industrie of the Queene his Mother, the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and other his fauourites in *England*,  
1199. was forth-with proclaimed king. And to make all the more sure on their side (for they were very icalous ouer his Nephew young *Arthure* Duke of *Britaine*, whose right to the Crowne was by manie, especially the *Frenchmen*, preferred before the others) they promised king *William* of *Scotland* to obtaine of king *John* at his returne ouer, whatsoeuer hee pretended title vnto, within the *English* Dominions.

The *Scotish* king beeing thus put in hope to attaine vnto his desire, in token of his good liking

liking and allowance of their proceedings in the behalfe of king *John*, sent the Bishop of Saint *Andrewes* to his coronation, with commission and instructions to moue and prosecute his demand of restitution of those Landes hee claymed, promising withall to abstaine from all forcible inuasion for the space of fortie dayes, so as within that tearme he might haue a resolute answer from the king concerning the same. Here-unto King *John* made answer, that if his cousin the king of *Scots* would come vnto him, hee should haue at his handes whatsoever in reason hee could demand. For the place of their meeting, *Notingham* was first appoynted, afterwarde *Yorke*, but king *William* vpon some occasion, sayling to come to eyther of these two places, king *John* passed ouer into *Normandie*, where hauing appeased some broiles stirred vp by the *French* king in the behalfe of young *Arthure*, at his returne hee sent an honourable Ambassage into *Scotland*, to safe conduct king *William* into *England*.

The two kings mett at *Lincolne* on the one and twentieth daye of *November* in the second yeare of the raigne of king *John*, to whome the *Scotish* king did there homage and fealtie: which seruices beeing performed king *William* required restitution of *Northumberland*, *Cumberland* and *Westmerland*, which he claimed as his right and lawfull inheritance; after  
much



much parlance there about, king *John* craued respite to consider further of the matter till the Feast of Pentecost next following, where-vnto the *Scotish* king consenting, the Assemblie brak vp, and king *William* was attended backe againe into *Scotland*, by those that brought him thither.

But king *John*, eyther beeing not disposed, or not at leisure to hold the appointed time, sent Ambassadors into *Scotland* to intreat king *William* to give him further daye, to returne him answer touching his former demand. Where-vnto the other yeelding, gaue him Michelmasse next according to his desire. All this notwithstanding I doe not finde in the Historie of eyther Nation, that king *John* did at any time after inlarge his possessions within the Realme of *England*. After this some vnkindnesse arose betweene them about the raising of a fortification, which the king of *England* had built ouer against *Berwicke*, vppon which occasion, as also by reason that while the Realme stood in the damnable estate, as the world then beleeued, of the Popes terrible curse, diuerse of the *English* Nobilitie and others forooke their naturall king, and for conscience sake fledd into *Scotland* (such power had the Papacie ouer mens consciences in those dayes.)

King *John* not contented there-with, hauing gathered

gathered an Armie, and there-with approaching the borders of *Scotland*, hee was incountred at *Norham* with Ambassadors from King *William*, (who then being about the age of threescore & ten yeares, was unfit to fight. At this meeting by mediation of friends a finall peace was made betweene them, and for the more assurance thereof the *Scotish* King deliuered his two Daughters *Isabell* and *Margaret* into the custodie of king *John* to bee bestowed in marriage, when they came to ripe age vpon his two Sonnes. *Buchanan* saith that it was agreed vpon at this time, that thence-forth the kings of *Scotland* should no more in their owne persons doe homage to the Kings of *England*, but those seruices should only be performed by their eldest sons, & for no other then for those lands and possessions which they held within the Realme of *England*. But hereof appeareth nothing amongst our own writers. About foure or five yeares after this agreement king *William* departed out off this life, whom *Alexander* his sonne by the Lady *Ermengard* afore-said, succeeded, beeing sixteene yeares of age, answerable to the terme that king *John* had then reigned, of whom in the meane season Prince *Alexander* receiued the Order of knight-hoode at *London*.

At the same time, vpon complaint made by the yong Prince (which title hee had newly receiued by creation of his Father) that diuerse rebellious



rebellious persons had presumed vpon the impotencie of the Father and Sonne, by reason of the ouer-old age of the one, and vnripe age of the other, to oppose themselves against their gouernement, vnder the leading of one *Gothred*. King *John* cyther in person (as some write) or rather in powre, (as I take it) accompanying the young Prince, did not onely safe conduct him home, but forthwith ioyning with certaine forces of *Scotland*, they together incountred the enemies in a set battell, gaue them the ouerthrow, tooke their chiefe Captaine prisoner, and according to his deserts made him shorter by the head. Notwithstanding all this kindnesse yet so fresh in memory that it could not be forgotten, immediatly vpon Prince *Alexander* his comming to the Crowne in the yeare of our Lord 1214. his youth easilie neglected the due regard he should haue had of king *John* his deserts. Thus it fell out: amongst others then in fauour with this young king, none was so much accounted of as a Nobleman of *England*, (yet by birth a *Scottishman*) one *Eustace de vesie*, that had married one of his sisters. This Gentleman together with *Robert Fitzwalter*, and *Stephen Ridell* had a little before conspired the death of King *John*, who hauing knowledge thereof sought vnderhand to apprehend them, but they distrusting the matter were glad to flie the Realme, *Eustace* into *Scotland*, and the other two into

into *France*. These men did afterwards so labour the two Kings of those Nations, that King *Alexander* ( notwithstanding the Pope was then appeased ) was perswaded to take part with *Lewis* the *Daulphin*, to whome the Barrons of *England* had disloyallye bound themselves by oath to receiue and serue him, as their lawfullie elected Prince and Soueraigne, reiecting their due allegiance to king *John* their Liege and naturall king.

The *Scotishmen* hauing entréd into *England* with a great Armie, tooke the Castle of *Norham*, wasted and harrowed the countrie with all extremitie. King *John* made hast with his army to repell the insolency of the *Scots*, but they would not tarry his comming. The king pursuing them to *Dunbar* wasted the country of *Lothian*, without resistance, and in his returne burned the Abbaye of *Coldingham*, from whence passing along the Sea coast, not without much damage to the Inhabitants, at last hee tooke by force the towne and Castle of *Berwicke*, committing it to the custodie of *Hugh de Ballioll* and *Philip de Hulcootes*, together with all the Countrey bordering on *Scotland* beyond the Riuer of *Theese*. King *John* was hardly returned into the south parts of the Realme, before the *French* king had sent ouer a strong army to the ayd of the Barrons against their king, whō *Lewis* within fewe months after followed with a new supplie, vnto whose



whose obedience all the Castles, Townes and Fortresses in the South parts of the realme were subdued, (the Castels of *Douer* and *Windsore* onely excepted. Neither was the North part of the realme free from these troubles: for *Robert de Rosse*, *Peter de Brocis*, & *Richard Percie* had brought the Citie of *Torke*, with all that Countie, vnder subiection to the *French-men*, in manner as *Gilbert de Gaunt* (whome the *Dolphine* had lately made Earle of *Lincolne*) had done there also, where the Castell onely held out. Thus was the passage prepared for the *Scotish* armie, which aduancing it selfe forwards in August, about two moneths after the arriual of the *Dolphine*, first seized vpon *Northumberland* wholly, (the Castels excepted, which were so well defended by the Kings party, that the *Scotishmen* thought it lost labour further to assaile them at that time,) but keeping their course Southward, they came to *London* with-out any resistance or losse, sauing that *Eustace de Vescie* (a principall leader amongst them) was slaine with an Arrowe, as he roade in the *Scotish* Kings companie to view, where to make an assault to the Castle of *Barnard* in the Countie of *Halewarke* folke, which belonged to *Balliol*. *Lewis* was lately departed from *London*, before the *Scotish* armie came thither, towards the siege of *Douer* Castell, whither King *Alexander* with his whole power posted with all speed. But that strong Castell was so manfully defended

by

by *Hugh de Borowgh* and *Gerrard de Scotegame* ( the principall men therein ) that all the power and policie of those two Princes would not suffice to winne the same, for that was a point of such importance, as that the *French* king had a little before written to his Sonne, that the taking of it was of more auaille vnto his Enterprise, then all that hee had gotten in *England* besides; which caused the yong Prince to re-enforce his whole endeauor for the accomplishment of his earnest desire. Here king *Alexander* did homage to *Lewis* in manner as hee had done before to king *Iohn*, acknowledging to hold of him as of the lawfull king of *England*, which done he tooke his leaue of *Lewis* and departed homewards, but not so quietly as hee came thither. For the true hearted *Englishmen* obseruing the behauour of the *Scots*, and watching euery fit oportunitie, tooke them at such an aduantage as thereby King *Alexander* lost a great part of his Army, hardly escaping an vtter ouerthrow, had not king *Iohn* died at that instant which gaue them a more happy returne into *Scotland* then they looked for lately before.

This sodaine death of the king ( which happened in the yeare 1216 ) wrought as sodaine an alteration in the state of the present affayres. For now the barons began better to consider of the matter, hauing found out both by experience

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1216.

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(the fooles instructor) and by secret intilligence what little good was to bee hoped for at the hands of their *French* Champion, if he preuailed in his enterprife. Wherefore diuerse of the *English* Nobilitie that before had followed that faction, when they vnderstood that young Prince *Henrie* the kings sonne was proclaimed lawfull inheritor and heire aparent to the Crowne of *England* by *William Marshall* Earle of *Pembroke*, *Rannulph* Earle of *Chester*, & diuers other of the partakers of the deceassed King, they beganne one after another to reuolt from *Lewis*, and to submit themselves to their yong King, not aboue nine yeares old. Whereupon after some fewe bickrings and incounters by land & sea, between the one partie and the other, wherein the *French* came still by the worse, Prince *Lewis* was willing to hearken to peace, which being readilie concluded, he bid farewell to all former his goodly hopes, was honorablie conducted to his ships, and transported into *France* about a yeare and a halfe from his first arriual in *England*. Thus in short time by the prouidence of God, and the industry and loyaltie of some principall men of the Nobilitie this nation was deliuered from one of the greatest dangers that euer it was like to fall into. The yong king hauing raigned vnder protection about foure yeares, and euen then purposing with himselfe, after hee should come to mans state (whereunto his notable and rare towardnesse did

did hasten him on ) to recouer that which his Father had lost on the other side of the sea, and withall knowing that the *Scotish* nation was of old, too much affected to *France*: that hee might therefore in time prevent all occasion of trouble on that side, it was brought to passe at *Torke*, (where the two kings met by appointment) that king *Alexander* should take to wife the Ladie *Ione* sister to king *Henrie*, and further that *Margaret* the *Scotish* kings sister should bee giuen in mariage to *Hubert de Borowgh*, a man in exceeding great fauour for many worthy partes in him; whereof both his Father and hee himselve had good tryall, and for those his deserts king *Henrie* afterwarde created him Earle of *Kent*. The other sister returned againe into *Scotland* vnmarried: these two Ladies (as you haue heard before) were committed by their Father to the custodie of king *John*. These mariages were solemnized at *Torke* about Mid-summer Anno. 1219. Diuerse couenants were then signed and sealed by eyther partie for the more assurance of perfect amitie betweene the two Nations, which continued accordingly during the liues of the two kings together, though there were some that practised what they could (for their owne aduantage) to set debate betweene them, amongst whom *Dauid* the petty king of *Wales* hauing receiued an ouerthrow of the *English-men*, and there-vppon flying  
G 2 into



into Scotland did his best indeauor to moue king *Alexander* to rise in Armes against *England*, and by such perswasions as hee vsed, so much preuailed that forth-with hee made preparation to inuade the Realme. This was the more easilie compassed by reason that king *Alexander* had then buried his wife the King of *Englands* sister, and not hauing had any issue by her, was againe married to the Lady *Marie*, daughter to *Iugelram* Lord of *Coucie*, a *French-man*, so that his former loue and liking towards *England* was now happilie abated and buried together with his late decessed wife *Queene Ione*. Yet had there then bin an other marriage concluded betweene the Lord *Alexander* the *Scottish* kings eldest Sonne, and the Ladie *Margeret* daughter to king *Henrie* which tooke effect as after shall appeare.

The *Scottish* Writers report, that king *Henrie* had then begunne to build a Castle ouer against *Berwicke*, in the same place where his father had before laid the foundation. But whatsoever was the true cause that mooued king *Alexander* to inuade the Realme, although king *Henrie* was as ready to make resistance as the other was to offer iniury, neuerthelesse by mediation of friendes of either part, the quarrell was taken vp, and the two kings reconciled one to the other, and for testimonie thereof to all posteritie, a publike writing was drawne,  
signed

signed and sealed by king Alexander and diuerse of the Nobility of Scotland, acknowledging their allegiance to the King of England, as their superior Lord, as followeth.

Alexander Dei gratia Rex Scotie. Omnibus Christi fidelibus hoc scriptum visuris vel audituris salutem. Ad vestram volumus venire notitiam, nos pro nobis & heredibus nostris concessisse & fideliter promississe charissimo & ligio Domino nostro Henrico tertio Dei gratia Regi Anglia, illustri Domino Hibernie, Duci Normandie, & Aquitania, & Comiti Andegauie, & eius heredibus, quod in perpetuum bonam fidem, ei seruabimus, pariter & amorem. Et quod nunquam aliquod fadus iniemus per nos vel per aliquos alios ex parte nostra, cum inimicis Domini Regis Anglia vel Heredum suorum, ad bellum procurandum vel faciendum unde damnum eis vel regnis suis Anglia & Hibernie, aut ceteris terris suis eueniat, vel possit alequatenus euenire, nisi nos iniuste grauent. Stantibus in suo robore conuentionibus inter nos & dictum Dominum regem Anglia initis ultimò apud Eboracum, in presentia Domini Othonis tituli S. Nicholai in carcere Tulliano, Diaconi Cardinalis, tunc Apostolicæ sedis Legati in Anglia. Et saluis conuectionibus super matrimonio contrahendo inter filium nostrum & filiam dicti Domini regis Anglia. Et ut hac nostra concessio & promissio pro nobis & heredibus nostris

G 3

perpetue



*perpetuae firmitatis robur obteniunt, fecimus iurare in animum nostrum Alanum Ostiarum, Henricum de Baliol, David de Lindesey, Wilhelmum Gifford, quod omnia predicta bona fide firmiter & fideliter observabimus. Et similiter iurari fecimus venerabiles patres, David, Wilhelmum, Galfridum & Clementem, sancti Andreae, Glasconiensem, Dūkeldensem, Dublinensem Episcopos. Et praeterea Malcolmun comitem de Fife, fideles nostros, Patricium, comitem de Dunbar, Malisium comitem de Strathern, Walterum Cumin comitem de Monteth, Wilhelmū comitem de Mar, Alexandrū comitem de Buchquhā, David de Hastings comitem de Athol, Robertum de Bruis Alanum Ostiariū, Henricum de Bailiol, Rogerum de Mounbray, Larentiū de Abirnettha, Richardum Cumin, David de Lindesey, Richardū Siward, Wilhelmū de Lindesey, Walterum de Moravia, Wilhelmum Gifford, Nicholaū de Sully, Wilhelmū de veteri ponte, Wilhelmū de Brewer, Anselmū de Mesue, David de Graham, & Stephanū de Suningham. Quod si nos vel heredes nostri, contra concessionē & promissionē predictā (quod absit) venerimus, ipsi, & heredes eorū nobis & heredibus nostris, nullū, contra concessionē & promissionē predictā, auxilium, vel cōsiliū impendent, aut ab alijs pro posse suo impendi permittent. Imò bona fide laborabunt erga nos & heredes nostros, ipsi et heredes eorū, quod omnia predicta a nobis et heredibus nostris, nec non ab ipsis et eorū heredibus firmiter et fideliter observetur in perpetuū.*

*In*

*In cuius rei testimoniū, tu, nos, quam predicti Prelati,  
Comites & Barones nostri presens scriptum sigillorum  
suorum appositione roborauimus. Testibus Prelatis,  
Comitibus & Baronibus superius nominatis. Ann.  
regni nostri. &c.*

This instrument being first signed and sealed by king *Alexander* himselfe, and afterwards by his Nobilitie, was sent to the King of England at Christmasse following by the Prior of *Tinmouth*, who had travelled diligently and faithfully in this businesse to the honor and good liking of both parties. And for further confirmation thereof, another writing was sent to *Rome*, to the end that this agreement & accord might receiue the more strength frō his Holines. This solemne league was established in the yeare of our Lord 1244. Whereupon *Berwick* was restored to the king of Scotland, & *Carlisle* ( which had bin taken by the Scots in the raigne of king *John* ) was likewise restored to king *Henry*, & the antient limits of the two kingdomes were bounded out by the Kings crosse in *Steanmore*, as before at the agreement made with the Conqueror. The often intermariages of the one nation with the other (which is the surest band of friendship) caused this good agreement so long between them; for when at any time occasion of vnkindnesse was offered by eyther of the two kings, the Nobilitie of both sides were so lincked one with the



other, in such an indissoluble union, that they would not suffer the same to breake out into any hostilitie. But to consummate and perfect (as it were) this Gordian knot, within two yeares after the death of king *Alexander* the father (which happened in the yeare 1249. his sonne *Alexander* that succeeded (about eight yeares old when his father deceased,) was within two yeares after brought to *Yorke*, where King *Henry* on Christmas day honoured him with the order of Knighthood, and the day following, he gaue him in marriage his Daughter, the Lady *Margaret*, according to the former agreement. At this meeting the young King did homage, in maner as before his father had done, and the League was renewed betweene the two Nations, which continued without any tainte many yeares after. In the meane time, at sundry meetings of the two kings and their Queenes, much kindnesse and friendly demeanour passed betweene them, to the great reioycing of their subiects on both sides. And as occasion required, the one would ayde and assist the other. For during the troubles betweene King *Henry* and his Barons, king *Alexander* did send vnto his ayde five thousand *Scots*, vnder the leading of *Alexander Cumine* and *Robert Bruis*, of whom the greater number was slaine in the quarrell of the Father and Sonne against their rebellious subiects. King *Henrie* deceasing in the seauenth and fiftie yeare of his raigne, Anno 1272. the

*Scotish* king and Queene came into *England* to the Coronation of king *Edward* his brother in law, where hauing passed the time in great iollitie, and acknowledged his allegiance, hee was honourably attended into *Scotland*. Shortly after his returne thither, Queene *Margaret* his wife deceased, and (not long after her death) their two sonnes *David* and *Alexander* dyed also, the elder brother hauing lately maryed the daughter of the Earle of *Flanders*, but left no issue behind them. The heauie hand of the Lord ceased not here, but finally inflicted well nere an vtter ruine and desolation on that kingdome, by taking out of this world (about twelue yeares after) the king himselfe and his whole progenie, if it bee true that is reported in the History of *Scotland*, this calamitie may seeme to be prefigured in a prodigious apparition, at the second marriage of king *Alexander*: for as he was leading the Queene his Bride in a dance (according to the manner of such solemnities) there appeared to the whole assembly the similitude of an humaine Anatomy, following and closing vp the traine of the Lords & Ladies that accompanied them. The same yeare viz. Ann. 1285. king *Alexander* was throwne from off his horse, and in the fall brake his necke: At his death none remained liuing of his line saue onely one infant, the daughter of his daughter *Margaret* Queene of *Norway*. King *Edward* vnderstanding what had hapned in *Scotland*, began to thinke



thinke with himselfe, how exceeding beneficial it would be to both nations, if by any good meanes they might bee vnited and made one monarchie, wherevpon forthwith hee dispatched Ambassadors thither, to make offer of mariage betweene the yong Lady the heire of *Scotland*, & his sonne Prince *Edward* heire apparant to the Crowne of *England*. This was no sooner moued to the lords, but forth-with euery mā gaue free consent, esteeming it so happy a thing for that kingdome, as nothing could be wished more. The mariage was therefore readily concluded vpon these conditions. That the *Scotishmen* should be gouerned by their owne Lords and lawes, vntill the issue proceeding of them should be of age to take the gouernment vpon them. And if it hapned that no issue should thereof spring, or should die before ripe age to gouerne: then the kingdom of *Scotland* should descend to the next in bloud to the King last deceased. Herevpon certaine Noble-men of *Scotland* were presently sent into *Norway* for the safe conduct of the yong Lady, but it pleased not God at that time to giue so great a blessing to this Islād, for at their returne home they brought heauy newes of her death also. The posteritie of king *William* of *Scotland*, grand-father to the last King, being now extinguished, great dissention arose about the title & claime to the crowne. The realme by this occasion being diuided into sundry factions, was in great danger of an vtter sub-  
uersion.

uersion. This controuersie hauing depended a long time, it was thought fit (sithence there was none amongst themselves of powre & authority to decide a matter of so great importance) to refer the same to the hearing and award of the king of *England*, generally reputed of all the competitors a fit iudge to determine thereof, according as law and equity should direct him. *K. Edward* being willing to bestow his trauell to so good purpose, and holding himselfe in a sort bound therevnto, in regard of his right of superioritie ouer that nation, easily consented to their petitions, appointing time & place for the performance of his best indeuore to effect their desire. In the meane time, to the end it might appeare to the world, that he tooke not this office in hand vpon warrant onely of the competitors intreaty, hee caused all the ancient Chronicles & records that could be found either in *England* or *Scotland*, to be perused, that (if any question therof should arise) his pretended interest in this action might be sufficiently approued. But although this was made so manifest out of *Marianus the Scot*, *William of Malmesbury*, *Roger Houeden*, *Henry Huntingtō*, *Ralph de Diceto* & others, as none then liuing could gainsay it: neuerthelesse the *Scottish* writers haue since that time much depraued the credit thereof by their bare surmises. And therefore it shall not be impertinent, for the better cleering of this point, before I proceed any further in declaratiō of the matter.



matter in hand, to examine how truly one of  
 the best learned amongst the hath not long since  
 peremptorie affirmed, that there is nothing  
 to show for the prooffe of this pretended Supe-  
 rioritie ouer the Kings of *Scotland*. *præter* (to vse  
 his owne words) *veteres fabulas & recentes iniu-  
 rias*, besides old farlies & late iniuries. I will not  
 stand vpon the testimonies fetched from beyond  
 the *Danish*, and some of the *Saxon* Kings, be-  
 cause happilie they may seeme not much to the  
 purpose, beeing without the compasse of the  
 last conquerors title, vnder which the succee-  
 ding kings of *England* must make their claime;  
 but let vs see what interest they can deriue from  
 and vnder him. It is granted that all the kings  
 of *Scotland* from the conquest till that time, haue  
 done homage one after other to the kings of  
*England*, but not for the Realme of *Scotland* (say  
 they) for what then? forsooth for those landes  
 and signories which they held of the kings of  
*England* with in *England*. I would then gladly  
 know when in the sixt yeare or there-about, of  
 the Conquerors raigne, vpon the conclusion of  
 peace betweene him and king *Malcolme* of *Scot-  
 land*, for the auoiding of further controuersie in  
 time to come, the two kingdomes were seuered  
 and diuided by markes and bounds, in so memo-  
 rable manner as is before declared: what landes  
 and possessions did king *Malcolme* then hold  
 pertaining to the Crowne of *England*? *Cumber-  
 land*

land, (saith *Buchanane*) that part of *Northumberland* (saith an other) that lyeth betweene the river of *Tweed*, *Cumberland*, and *Staenmore*. well; but whatsoeuer they were, were they not included and contained within those limits and bounds then erected? If not? to what purpose serued that notorious diuision of the two kingdomes? either then haue the *Scottish* writers erred in the approbation of that most solemne partition, or else must king *Malcome* then doe homage to the Conqueror for his kingdome of *Scotland*: which being granted, then let it bee showed, how and when his heires after him were discharged of that seruice. Againe how came it to passe, that in the said sixt yeare of the raigne of the Conquerour, *Michael* the elect Bishop of *Glasgow* receaued consecration at the hands of *Thomas* then the Atchbishop of *Torke*, as of the primate of *Scotland*, binding himselfe by oath to the obedience of that Sea? *Tothade* the Bishop of *Saint Andrewes* did the like, at the commandement of *Malcome* the third, king of *Scotland*. If then a Bishop of *England* had right to this supremacie ouer the cleargie of *Scotland*, why should then the like preheminance bee denied to the kings of *England* at that time, ouer the seculer state of the same kingdome? Further what moued King *William* of *Scotland*, together with Earle *Dauid* his brother, and the *Scottish* Lords then present, both temporall and spirituall, to acknowledge and sweare fealtie

note



to King *Henry* the second: forsooth, because his subiects loued him so well, that for his redemption they would haue yeelded to any conditions whatsoever. As though king *Henry* was so vnreasonable, that contrary to the custome of all nations, he would not accept of any other submissiō, but that he should be the first king of *Scotlād* that became his vassaile, when was it euer heard before that kings haue so dealt one with another? as though an vsuall ransome, yea a very small sum, (seeing he was taken with the losse of little bloud or none at all) would haue bin refused for his liberty? I doubt much whether the Lords of *Scotland* would euer haue yeelded to an exacted subiection for the loue onely of their king, especially hauing then amongst them the Lord *David*, a man of so worthy parts, as he was no way inferiour to his brother. Lastly, what mooued king *Alexander* the third, and his Lords to acknowledge the like allegiance to King *Henry* the third, the two kingdomes being seperated, in manner as at the agreement betweene the Conqueror and *Malcolm Cammoir*? Therefore these are friuolous shifts, because they will not seeme altogether mute in a matter so much importing (as they take it) the glory of their Nation. But howsoeuer, some others amongst them haue beene ouercome with ouer vehement an affection towards their natiue countrie, whereby many times they haue suppressed the trueth, when it sounded somewhat

what too hartſhe for their hearing : yet I cannot but maruell at *Buchanan* ( a man well learned and iudicious ( how hee could be drawne into ſo peruerſe a conceit of King *Edwards* demeanure in this action . Where-vnto it is now time to returne, hoping a time will come, when as this difference ſhall not be offenſiue any more. The King of *England* about Eaſter next, according to his appointment , repaired into the North-parts, and beeing come to *Norham* , hee cauſed all the Prelates and Barons of *Scotland* , to bee called before him : to whom he declared his readineſſe to vnder-take the deciding of this great controuerſie, concerning a title to a kingdome. That in requiring his aſſiſtance, and making offer to ſtand to his finall ſentence therein, they had done no more , then by the duty of their allegiance they were bound vnto; whereof if any amongſt them doubted, they might be thorowly ſatiſfied, by taking a view of ſuch records and obſeruati- ons as hee cauſed faithfully to bee gathered out of the beſt *Historiographers* of both Nations, which then were openly read amongſt them, which being ſo freſh in memory, no man made further queſtion thereof. Wherevpon King *Edward* was acknowledged Superior Lord of *Scotland*, of all the competitours, and a writing was drawne, ſubſcribed, and confirmed with their hands and ſeales, teſtifying this their volunarie recognition in theſe words.

*Atorx*



*A tous iceulx qui ceste presente lettre verrunt  
ou orrunt, &c.* To all them that this present wri-  
ting shall see or heare. *Florence Earle of Holland,*  
*Robert le Bruce Lord of Auuandale, John Cumine*  
*Lord of Badenowe, Patrike de Dunbarre Earle of*  
*Marche, John de Balliol Lord of Galloway, John Ha-*  
*stings Lord of Abergeuennie, John de Vescie* instead  
of his Father, *Nicholas de Sules*, and *Walter Rosse*,  
send greeting in our Lord. Whereas all we pre-  
tend to haue right to the kingdome of *Scotland*,  
and intend to declare, chalenge, and proue the  
same before him that hath the best authoritie, iu-  
risdiction and reason, to examine our right, and  
that the noble Prince the Lord *Edward*, by the  
grace of God King of *England*, by good and suf-  
ficient reasons, hath informed vs, that the superi-  
or domination of *Scotland*, belongeth to him, and  
that hee ought to haue the knowledge, hearing,  
examining, and defyning of our right: we of our  
free-willes, without all violence and constraint,  
do will, consent, and grant to receiue our right  
before him, as the superiour Lord of our land.  
We will also and promise, that we shall haue and  
hold his deed for firme and stable, and that hee  
shall haue the kingdome, ynto whom before him  
best right shall giue the same. In witnesse where-  
of we haue to these letters put our seales. Yeuen  
at *Norham* the Tuesday next after the feast of the  
Ascension of our Lord, in the yeare 1291. for  
the more strong ratification hereof, the King  
further

further demanded full possession and seisure of the realme of *Scotland*, as also for the better strengthening of his estate, to whome the same kingdome should be by him adiudged, wherevnto they all agreed by writing also, vnder their seuerall hands and seales, as followeth.

*Atoux iceulx, &c.* To all those which this present writing shall see or heare. *Florence Earle of Holland, Robert de Bruce Lord of Annandale, John de Balliol Lord of Galloway, John de Hastings Lord of Abergeuennie, John Cumin Lord of Badenawe, Patrikke de Dunbarre Earle of Marche, John de Vescie* instead of his Father, *Nicholas de Sules*, and *William de Ros*, send greeting in our Lord. Because that of our owne willes and common consents, without all constraint, we doe consent and grant vnto the noble Prince, the Lord *Edward*, by the grace of God king of *England*, that he as superior Lord of *Scotland*, may heare, examine, define & determine our claimes, cha'lenges & petitions, which we intend to shew and proue for our right, to be receiued before him as superior Lord of the land, promising moreouer, that we shall take his deed for firme and stable, and that he shall inioy the kingdome of *Scotland*, whose right by declaration shall best appeare before him: whereas then the sayd king of *England* cannot in this maner take knowledge, nor fulfill our meanings without iudgement, nor iudgment ought to be without execution, nor execution may in due forme bee done

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of our Lord, in the yeare 1291. Besides these two former deeds from the competitors themselves, he receiued the like assurance from all the principall officers and Magistrates of that realme. So as by a free and generall consent, he was acknowledged their supream Lord, and was accordingly intituled in sundry Proclamations and publique Edicts, directed forth in his name.

King *Edward* hauing receiued at their hands these instruments of allegiance, as their proper and voluntary deeds, and also their seuerall homages, either in his owne person, or by his deputies, according to the order giuen in that behalfe: he was finally put in full possession of the realme of *Scotland*, and hauing occasion to returne presently into *England* to solemnize the exequies of his Mother, hee committed the gouernment and custodie of the realme in his absence, to the Bishops of Saint *Andrewes* and *Glascoe*, and to the Lords *John Cumin* and *James Steward*, who before had giuen the King possession. At his returne out of *England*, at Midsomer following, hee sent out sommons to all those that made claime to the Crowne of *Scotland*, to repaire vnto him, and hauing heard what each one could say for himselfe, hee perceaued, that the question rested onely betweene *John Balliol* and *Robert Bruce*, so as that all the rest were thenceforth viterly excluded and barred from all further title or claime. These two deriued their



titles from *David Earle of Huntington*, brother to *William* late King of *Scottes* in this maner. This *David* had issue by *Mawde* his wife, one of the daughters of *Hugh Bohune Earle of Chester* (as is aforesaid) three daughters: *Margaret* the eldest was married to *Alaine Lord of Galloway*, who had issue together, three daughters also, of whom the eldest (named *Dernagil*) was married to *John Balliol*, the parents of this *John Balliol*, one of the two competitors. *Isabell* the second daughter of the foresaid *David*, was married to *Robert Bruce*, betweene whom was begotten this *Robert Bruce* the other competitor. He claimed the Crowne, as next heire male: the other made claime in the right of his mother, who was the next heire in blood, and (as wee say in *England*) heire at the common-lawe. *Bruce* alleadged, that hee was to bee preferred before the Mother of *Balliol*, because the heire male must carry away the inheritance of a kingdome from the heire female, meeting in the selfe same degrec of blood, as in this case it stood betweene him and *Dernagill*. To this end he alleadged a late president in the like controuersie about the Duchie of *Burgundie*, which the Earle of *Neuers* claimed in the right of his wife, grand-child to the last Duke by his eldest sonne, which notwithstanding, the brothers inheritance was adiudged to the Dukes yonger sonne. King *Edward* hauing heard the allegations and answeres of both parties, caused

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them

then to be inrolled, but because the matter was of the greatest importtance (life onely excepted) and therefore required good deliberation, hee referred the further proceeding therein till Michaelmasse following, and returned into *England*. In the meane time, for his better instruction, he acquainted the most learned Lawyers as well of *France* as of this nation, with the whole state of the cause, and receaued their generall resolution therein. At the time prefixed he repaired againe into the North-parts, and comming to *Berwicke*, hee called thither the two competitours, together with the greater number of the Lords of *Scotland*, to receiue there a finall end of this controuersie. Out of this great assembly of the most graue and best experienced personages of both Nations, hee made choise of a certaine number, as well *English* as *Scottish*, to whom (as to a Iurie royall, sworne and admonished to deale vprightlie) the King gaue full authoritie, to name him, that vnto them appeared, vpon the examination of their seuerall titles, and the resolution of the Lawyers therevpon (which was deliuered vnto them) to haue the better right vnto the crowne of *Scotland*. These men being put a part by themselves, and hauing examined, considered, and sufficiently debated, the prooues, allegations, and whatsoeuer could be said on either side, they all with one full consent and voyce, pronounced *John Balioll* the true and vndoubted heire to the



Crowne of Scotland. King *Edward* allowing their verdit, gaue sentence accordingly. Whervpon he was forthwith proclaimed king of *Scotland*, on condition, that if hee did not gouerne his kingdome with equitie & iustice, then vpon iust complaint thereof the king of *England* might put to his helping hand, by some good meanes to procure reformation, as he was bound therevnto by his right of Superioritie, which in him was anciently inuested. Further hee awarded out his writtes of deliuary of seisme at the sute of *Balliol*, vnto the Bishops aforesaid, and to *John* Lord *Cumin*, *James* Lord *Steward*, and *Brian Fitz-alline* wardens of *Scotland*, commanding them to deliuer vnto *John Balliol*, the full seisme and possession of that land, sauing the relieues and other payments due to him of the issues and profits of the same, vnto the day of the date of that writ, being the xix. of Nouember, in the twentieth yeare of the raigne of King *Edward*, Anno Domi. 1291. also an other writte was likewise directed the same day, to such as had the keeping of the Castels, in forme following.

*Edwardus dei gratia Rex Anglie, &c.* *Edward* by the grace of God King of *England*, Lord of *Ireland*, Duke of *Aquitaine*, and Superiour Lord of the realme of *Scotland*. To his welbeloued and faithfull seruant *Peter Burdet* Constable of the Castell of *Berwicke*, sendeth greeting. Whereas *John Balliol* in Parliament lately holden at *Berwick*  
vpon

vpon *Tweede*, came before vs, and demanded the sayd realme of *Scotland* to be adiudged to him by vs, and seisme of the same to bee to him deliuered, as next heire to *Margaret* Daughter to the King of *Norway*, Lady of *Scotland* by right of succession: wee hauing heard and vnderstood the same petitions and reasons, beeing diligently weyed and examined, wee finde the sayde *John Balliol* to bee next heyre to the Crowne of *Scotland*. Where-vpon wee haue deliuered vnto him seisme and possession thereof. Wee therefore command you, that you deliuer vp vnto the sayd *John Balliol*, or to his Attorneys, that shall bring with them these our Letters, the seisme of the sayd Castell of *Berwicke*, with all the appurtenances, together with all other things to you deliuered by Indenture, in manner as you receaued the same, with the custodie of the sayd Castell to you committed, and this without delay. Witnesse our selfe at *Berwicke* vpon *Tweede* the nineteenth day of Nouember, in the 20. yeare of our raigne.

In the same forme were writtes directed to all the keepers of the other Castels and manors belonging to the crowne of *Scotland*, and being then in their custodie to whom *K. Edward* had before granted the same. Then also in the presence of the new king and the nobles of *Scotland*, the new scale which had bin before committed by King *Edward* to the gouernors of the realme of *Scotland*, during



the time of vacancie, was broken, and put vp to be reserued in the treasure of the King of *England* in token of his superiority, and the trust committed vnto him for the ending of this controuersie. The next day the *Scottish* king did fealtie in the Castle of *Norham*, vnto king *Edward* for his kingdome in manner following.

This heare you, my Lord *Edward*, King of *England*, Soueraigne Lord of the Realme of *Scotland*. That I *John Balliol* king of *Scotland* ( which I hold and claime to hold of you ) shall be faithful and loyall, and owe faith and loyaltie, vnto you; I shall beare of life and member, and of earthly honour against all people, and lawfully I shall acknowledge, and doe the seruices, which I ought to doe to you for the Realme of *Scotland* aforesaid. So God mee helpe. And for more testimonie hereof hee caused letters patents to bee sealed & deliuered to King *Edward* in the presence of the Bishoppes of *S. Andrewes* and *Glasco*, and of diuers others of the Nobilitie of both Nations. This done King *Edward* appointed the bishop of *Durham*, and the Lord *John S. John*, to attend *Balliol* into *Scotland* and to put him into the corporall possession of the Land, which was performed accordingly. For on *S. Andrewes* day following he was crowned at *Scone* in the Marble chaire in the Abbey, the solemnities ended he returned backe to *New-castle vpon Tyne*, where king *Edward* kept his Christmasse that

that yeare, and there vpon Saint *Stephens* daye the *Scotish* king did homage to king *Edward* in manner following.

My Lord, Lord *Edward* king of *England*, Superior Lord of *Scotland*. I *Iohn de Balliol* king of *Scotland* doe acknowledge mee to bee your Liegeman of the Realme of *Scotland* with all the appurtenances and whatsoeuer belongeth thereto. The which kingdome I hold, and ought of right to claime to hold by inheritance of you and your heyres kings of *England*: And I shall beare faith and loyaltie to you and to your heyres kings of *England* of life, of member and earthly honour against all men which may liue and die.

The two kings hauing spent some time there together, with much ioy and reuell, tooke their leaues one of the other, and parted in great kindness. Thus was this controuersie decided and taken vp, which had continued from the death of *Alexander* the last king before him, vnto this mans coronation fixe yeares and eight monthes, & nowe within that tearme of months, ended by king *Edward* to the exceeding great benefit of that nation, had not their inconstancie immediatlie afterwards bereaued them thereof, and turned the good which they might haue gained therby, well nere to their vtter confusion, as in the History following shall appeare.

The next yeare after that king *Balliol* was thus established in his kingdome, a controuersie arose



arose concerning title of Land betweene *Macduffe* Earle of *Fife* ( who in the time of the interraigne was one of the fixe, to whom the gouernment of the Realme was committed ) and the familie of the *Abernethes* (men of good place also) one of these kild the Earle, whose brother making complaint thereof to his king, was not only little regarded therein, but vpon the hearing of the matter in controuersie, hee gaue iudgement against him. *Macduffes* brother hauing lost both his land, and found the King ouer-flow in taking reuenge for the iniury offered his familie; appealed to the king of *England*, where-vpon king *Balliol* was called to *London* to answer to the others accusatiō. The two kings sitting together in Parlament, the Plaintife propounded his complaint. The *Scottish* king beeing the partie defendant, was intreated to remoue (according to the order obserued in such cases) into an inferiour place, to answer and to plead for himselfe ( for it is not the manner of that most honourable assēbly to admit counsell on either side ) This disgrace (saith *Buchanan*) first moued king *Balliol* to breake off friendship with *England*: for the warre beeing euen then in that Parliament renewed with *France*, he was thereby the more easily drawne to enter into league and alliance with that Nation.

King *Edward* hauing had secret intelligence of the *Scottish* kings inclination to reuolt ( being then

then returned into *Scotland*, to the ende hee might sound out the truth, hee required his ayde and assistance in his intended warre with *France*, where-vnto hee receiued so doubtfull an answer, as that hee was thereby brought into more distrust with the king of *England*, and therefore sending againe into *Scotland*, hee required to haue the custodie of the Castles of *Berwicke*, *Edenbrugh* and *Rockesbrugh* deliuered vnto him, for the better assurance of his loyaltie, during the continuance of the warre with *France*.

Heere-vnto the Lords of *Scotland* tooke vpon them to answer ( for theyr king would not yet openlie oppose himselfe ) that they were Free-men borne, and therefore would neuer yeeld to that seruitude, where-vnto their king had vnaduisedly subiected himselfe: that his priuate act ( how voluntary soeuer ) could not bind his subiects, because without the generall consent of the States of the whole Realme, nothing could bee established, which concerned the whole bodie of the Common-weale. That the League now renewed with *France* was of five hundred yeares continuance, which for the conueniencie and necessitie thereof, was to bee preferred before the late and lesse profitable amitie and alliance with *England*. And to approue these wordes with their deedes, the Townes-men of *Berwicke* made an assault vpon



vpon certaine *English* Marchants that were at  
 Anchor in the Hauen, of whome many were  
 wounded, some slaine, and the residue forced to  
 flie, who at their returne home informed the king  
 thereof. He now perceiuing the affection of that  
 Nation towards him, purposed forth-with to in-  
 uade that realme. But in the meane time (thereby  
 to conceale his resolution,) hee sent a solemne  
 Ambassage thither, sommoning king *John* to  
 make his appearance at New-castle within cer-  
 taine dayes, there to show cause, why (contrary  
 to his faithfull promise) hee had entred into  
 league with his enemy the *French* King, of whom  
 he could not receaue so much good, as hee was  
 likely to sustaine harme thereby from him, and  
 further, that it was not possible to serue two mai-  
 sters of so contrary disposition, without offence  
 to the one or other. But King *John* holding him-  
 selfe much iniured by king *Edward*, returned vnto  
 him letters of complaint, which was all the an-  
 swer he would affoord him. The Armie being as-  
 sembled, and king *Edward* there-with approach-  
 ing *Warke* Castell, seauen Earles of *Scotland*,  
 namely *Bouchan*, *Menteth*, *Stratherne*, *Lennox*,  
*Ros*, *Arboll* and *Murre*, with *John Cumin* the maister  
 of *Badenow*, hauing gathered together fise hun-  
 dred horsemen, and ten thousand foote-men in  
*Amandale*, on Monday in Easter weeke entred  
 into *England*, on that side, and passing towards  
*Carleil* put all to fire and sword, that stood in their  
 way,

way, but the towne was so well defended, as that they gaue ouer the siege on Thurseday following, and returned againe into *Scotland*. The same day king *Edward* with his armie passed ouer the Riuer *Tweede*, and summoned *Berwick*, offering peace vpon certaine conditions: which beeing refused he approched and lodged in the monastery of *Caldestrenie*, his army consisting of foure thousand horse, and thirtie thousand footemen. He had appointed certaine ships to the number of foure and twenty to scoure the Coast thereabout, to cut off accesse to the Towne by sea, who vpon some signe giuen them from the army, placed on a plaine in battell araiie within their view, entred the Hauen, and offering to land were assailed by the Towns-men. While the fraye continued not without some more losse on the *English* partie, the king with his Armie hauing in the meane time passed ouer a ditch, cast vpon purpose to haue hindred his approach on that side, entred the towne without loosing any man of name, saue onely Sir *Richard Cornewall*. But the *Scottish* writers report otherwise of this exploit. That the King dispayring to take the towne by force, deuised what might be wrought by policie, and therefore fayning to depart raysed the siege, causing a rumor to bee spread by certaine *Scots* his adherents in heart, that king *John* was at hand withall his powre to relieue the Towne. This newes beeing brought to *Berwick*  
printed by



by such in whome they reposed trust, forth-with the Gallants and they of the best account, setting open the Gates issued out to meete their king: King *Edward* watching the expected advantage got betweene them and home, and so entred without anie great resistance. Howsoever it was brought to passe, it seemeth by the exceeding great number of *Scots* then slaine, and the small losse or none at all of *Englishmen* that there was some cunning vsed in the taking of the Towne. For at the least seauen thousand of them were thereat slaine, beeing the verie choise men of all *Lothian* and *Fife*. This happened on the thirteth of March, in the yeare of our Lord 1296.

The King remained there fifteene dayes: in which time he fortified the Towne with a ditch cast about it fourescore foote deepe and as much ouer. While he stayed here he receiued Letters from king *John*, wherein hee againe complained of sundry wrongs offered vnto him, in regard whereof he renounced all such homage and fealtie by him and his subiects to bee any more acknowledged due vnto him. The King hauing heard the letter read commanded his Chancelor to inrole it. In the meane time the *Scottish* Army, whereof I haue spoken before, diuiding it selfe into two seuerall companies, the one part vnder the leading of the Earle of *Buguban*, entred by *Cumberland*, the other by *Riddesdale*,  
burning

burning the villages & putting all to sword they met withall in most furious manner, and hauing euen glutted themfelues with bloud, they returned home with all their pillage and bootie. The Earle of *Dunbar* came to *Berwicke* and submitted himselfe withall hee had vnto the Kings pleasure, but in the meane season his Castle, by the practise of his wife was rendred vnto the *Scottes*, for the recouery whereof the Earles of *Warwicke* and *Warren* with a great power were forthwith sent thither by the king.

The *English-men* hauing besieged the Castle were set vpon by the *Scots*, betweene whome was fought a most bloudie battell: but in the end the *Englishmen* had the victory, the number of *Scots* slaine in fight and flight (the chase continuing eight miles) were about tenthousand, the Noblemen escaped by recouering the castle: On the next morning (being the eight and twentieth day of Aprill) at the king of *Englands* comming thither, the Castle was forthwith surrendred vnto him, wherein were taken prisoners the Earles of *Monteith*, *Cassils* and *Ros*, fixe Barons, namely, *John Cumin* the younger, *William Sincler*, *Richard Siward* the elder, *John Fitz-geffrey*, *Alexander de Mortaigne*, *Edmond Cumin* of *Kilbird*, besides thirty knights, and aboue that number of *Lairdes* and chiefe Gentlemen.

All these were sent into *England* & bestowed in places.



places of safe keeping. From hence the king marched vnto the Castle of *Roxbrough*, which incontinentlie yeelded it selfe; the liues saued of all within the same. Amongst whom the Lord *Steward of Scotland* was the principall man. After this the King besieged the strong Castle of *Edenburgh*, which after fifteene dayes was surrendered vpon the like condition. The Castle of *Strive-ling*, at the kings approach beeing left desolate, and hauing the gates set wide open, offered it selfe vnto his entrance. King *Edward* following his good fortune passed from hence ouer the forth, and about Midsomer came to the Towne *S. Iohn*, While hee remained there, king *John* now dispayring to recouer by force his manifold losses, sought by intreaty to be reconciled and receiued into grace: which at length was granted, so as king *John* and his Nobilitie acknowledging their error resigned the kingdome of *Scotland* into the hands of king *Edward* in manner following.

*Iehan per le grace de Dieu, &c. John* by the grace of God, king of *Scotland*; To all those that these present Letters shall see or heare, sendeth greeting. Because that wee through euill counsell and our owne simplicitie, haue grievously offended our Soueraigne Lord, *Edward* by the Grace of God king of *England*, Lord of *Ireland* and Duke of *Aquitaine* in many things, that is to say,  
In

In that whereas wee being and abiding vnder his faith and homage, haue bound our selues vnto the king of *France*, which then was his enemy & yet is, procuring a marriage with the Daughter of his Brother *Charles de valois*: And that wee might vex our sayd Lord, and aide the king of *France* withall our powre by warre, and other meanes: we haue at length by aduise of peruerse counsell, defied our sayd Lord, the King of *England*, and haue put our selues out of his allegiance and homage, and sent our people into *England*, to burne houses, to take spoiles, to commit murder, with many other damages, and also in fortifying the kindome of *Scotland*, which is of his fee, putting armed men into townes Castells and other places, to keepe the Land against him, & defraud him of his fee. For the which transgressions our sayd soueraigne Lord the king entring into the realme of *Scotland* with his powre, hath conquered and taken the same, notwithstanding all that we could do against him, as by right hee might do, and as appertained to a Lord ouer his fee, because that wee did render vnto him our homage, and yet neuerthelesse made the foresaid rebellion. Wee therefore, it being yet in our powre, & free-wil do surrender vnto him the realme of *Scotland* and al the people of the same with the homages. In witnesse whereof wee haue caused these our letters patentes to be drawne. Giuen at *Brechin* the tenth day of Iuly in the fourth yeare



of our raigne sealed with the cōmon scale of the kingdome of *Scotland*. This done, king *Edward* hauing receiued the Son of *Balliol*, in pleadge of his fathers fidelity, passed on further to see the mountaine Countries, the Bilhop of *Durham* euer keeping a daies iornay before him: after hee had passed thorowe the land of *Murrey*, and was come to *Elghin*, perceiuing al the Country quiet, he returned to *Berwicke*, whether he sommoned all the Noblemen of *Scotland* of whom he receiued their seuerall homages confirming the same vnder their hands and scales in forme following.

*A tous ceux qui cestes lettres verrent. &c.* To all those that these present letters shall see or heare, We *John Cumin of Badenaw &c.* Do hereby vowe and promise for vs and our heires, vpon paine of body and goods and of all that we haue, that wee shall serue the most Noble Prince and our dearest Lord *Edward* by the grace of God king of *England* &c. well and truly against all men which may liue and die, at all times when we shalbe required or warned by our said Lord the king of *England* or his heires. And that we shall not know of any hurt to be done vnto them, but the same wee shall let and impeach with all our power, and giue them warning thereof. And these things to hold and keepe, we bind vs, our heires & all our goods. And further do receiue an oth thereof vpon the holie Euangelists. And after  
all

all, wee and euery one of vs haue done homage vnto our soueraigne Lord, the king of *England* in these words.

I become your liedge man of life, members & earthly honour, against all men which may liue and die. And our sayd soueraigne Lord the king, receiued this homage vnder this forme of words. We receiue it for the land of the which you bee now seased, the right of vs or others saued, & except the lands which *John Balliol* (sometime king of *Scotland*) graunted vnto vs after that we did deliuer vnto him the kingdome of *Scotland*, if happily he hath giuen vnto you any of those landes. Moreouer al we and euery one of vs by himselfe haue done fealty to our sayd soueraigne Lord the king in these words.

I as a faithfull and leidge man shall keepe faith and loyaltie vnto *Edward* king of *England* and to his heires, of life, member and earthly honour against all men which may liue and die. And shall neuer for any person beare armoure, or shalbe of counsell, or aide any person against him or his heires in any case that may chaunce, but shall faithfully acknowledge and do the seruice that belongeth to the tenements I clame to hold of him as God mee helpe. In witnesse wherof these letters pattents are made and signed with our scales. Given at *Warke* the 24. of March in the yeare of the raigne of our sayd Lord the king of *England* five and twentieth.



King *Edward* hauing appointed *John Warren* Earle of *Surrey* warden of *Scotland*, *Hugh Cressingham* Treasurer, and *William Drusbie* chiefe Iustice, and sent a conuenient companie to attend and safe conduct *John Balliol* and some of the principall Lords of that realme into *England*, he followed soone after him selfe. *Balliol* had liberty to take recreation within the circuite of twenty miles about *London*, the rest were charged on paine of death not to passe out of *England* till the king had made an end of his warre with *France*, which now he was to vndertake and to that end (after his retorne home about the latter ende of summer) hauing prepared all things fit for that iorney, hee passed ouer into *Flanders* where hee remained vntill the next spring, and then returned backe againe, by reason of a rebellion (allreadie begun in *Scotland* a little before his going ouer) and now by his absence was growne more dangerous, then it was at the first thought it could proue. The chiefe Captaine hereof was one *Wallais* a *Scotishman*, whose meane estate had well neere worne out the memorie of his ancestry, yet neuerthelesse showed himselfe, euen in his greatest penury, of courage not incident to a vulgar and base spirit. This gallant wearied with his obscure and abiect condition of life, hauing nothing to loose besides it, neither valewing the same at anie great price, beganne to pluck vp his benumbed spirites, and to bethinke

be-thinke him-self, how to make way vnto the atchieuement of some famous and valorous exploite, fortune was so fauorable vnto him, that he was sodenly aduanced beyond al mens expectation (for the extraordinary successe of his interprices) to the title and dignity of the viceroye of *Scotland*. For, hauing assembled a great number of his Countrimen of like qualitie vnto him-selfe, hee set vpon the *English* forces, beating them to their holdes, and recouering into his possession, all the places of strength which they held on the further side of the frith of *Edenborough*. The report hereof being brought into *England*, the Earle of *Surrie* was succored with newe supplie of Souldiours from thence, with whome hee passed against the enemies then incamped on the further side of the frith. The Earle together with the Lord *Hugh Cressingham*, beeing come with their armie to *Striueling* bridge, where they were to passe ouer vnto them, after that the greater number conducted by the Lord *Cressingham* were on the further side, the bridge (beeing but of wood) brake asunder, so as the residue of the army could not follow their fellowes. *Walleis* taking the aduantage set vpon the *Englishmen* on that side, before they could bee brought into any good order of battaile, by which meanes beeing overpressed also with multitude, they were well-nere all, to the number of sixe thousand men,



together with their Captaine slaine or drowned in the riuer. This misfortune happened to the *Englishmen* about the middest of September, in the yeare of our Lord God 1297. The Earle bestowing his companies there where was most need, returned into *England* with all speed. But *Wallais* following his good fortune, left nothing vnattempted that might augment his glorie and renowne. For immediatly there-vpon hee inuaded *Northumberland*, from whence passing thorow the Forrest of *Inglewood*, *Cumberland* and *Alderdaile*, till hee came vnto *Dewent* at *Cockermouth*, wasting and spoiling all in his walke, but comming to New-castle, the Towne was so well defended, that giuing ouer the siege, and hauing deuided the spoile amongst his people, they returned home in the Calends of Februarie next following. While the *Scottes* thus ranged at their pleasure in the East Marches, the lord *Clifford* with the power of *Carlisle* entred into *Annandale*, committing all to the spoile of their foot-men. The Horse-men (being not aboue an hundred) gaue a charge vpon the enimie neere to *Annand Kirke*, droue them into a Marish, wherein the *English* foot-men (being not farre behinde) assailing them, slew about three hundred, and tooke the rest prisoners, with whome they returned home on Christmasse euen. About the beginning of the next Spring the Earle of *Surrey* (lord warden of *Scotland*) desi-

rous to bee reuenged on the rebellious *Scots*, assembled his Armie at *Yorke*, hauing first summoned the lords of *Scotland* to meete him there at an appointed day. But they in the meane time ioyning with *Wallais*, had besieged the Castell of *Roxbrough*. The Earle hearing thereof, hasted thither with all speede, but *Wallais* with his adherents would not abide his approach. Then hauing relieved that Castell with victuals and other necessities, he passed forth to *Kellsay*, and from thence to *Berwicke*, which the enimie had lately desolated, the Castell onely excepted. Hither came letters from the King, shewing that he had taken truce with the *French King*, and commanding the lord warden of *Scotland* to make no further attempt, then to defend the frontiers of *England*, vntill his comming ouer, which should bee very shortly. Here vpon a great part of the armie was sent home, such onely remained, which might suffice for the re-manning of the towne and castell. K. *Edward* at his returne home, gaue summons to the lords of *Scotlād*, to attend him at *Yorke*, where hee had appointed to hold a Parliament: but because they made default of their appearāce at the prefixed day, he forthwith sent out his letters to warne all his subiects, able to beare armor, to be ready furnished at *Roxburgh* on Midsomer day following, which being come, thither repaired about 3000. men of Armes, mounted on barbed horses, besides 4000. light horse-men, and a great

I 4 number



number of footmen, the better part *Welshmen & Irishmen*. The whole armie beeing come within *Scotland* to a place called *Fonkerke*, about foure miles from *Sterling* where the *Scots* lay, was deuided into three battailes. The formost was leade by the Earles, Marshall, *Hereford* and *Lincolne*. The second by the Bishop of *Durham* (a martiall prelate) The rereward was conducted by the king himself. In like manner the *Scotish* army was deuided into three. The first was lead by *John Cumine*, the second by *Ioh. Steward*. And the third, by the valiant Captaine *William Wallais*, the whole consisted of some thirtie thousand men well and strongly apoynted. At the first incoun- ter the *Scotish* horsemen were put to flight, some fewe only excepted that kept the footmen in order, the second battaile being assailed by the *Eng- lishmen* both before and behind, after some small resistance was also wholly ouer browne, fewe or none escaping with life, *Wallais* hauing manfully maintained the fight while hee was able to make resistance, and now seeing himselfe overcharged a front, and *Bruce* at his backe (who serued that day on the *English* part) readie to intrap him, hee thought it best to saue himselfe, in as good sort as hee could, and therefore retyring with those few that remayned, to the further side of the ri- uer *Carront*, he so escaped. After this ouerthrowe hee neuer appeared any more in the field, but greeuously complayning of the enuy and malice which

which the *Scottish* Nobility bare towards him, hee renounced al the authority committed vnto him and withdrew himselfe to his accustomed solitarinesse. About seauen years after this, he was betrayed by one of his most familier friendes, sent into *England*, arraigned and condemned of treason, and for the same executed, his head was set on *London* bridge, and his foure quarters bestowed vpon the gates of the chiefe Citties and townes of *England* and *Scotland*. The *Scottish* writers do hieghly commend the notable courage and resolution of this man, who alone would neuer be won by faire means or fowle, to yeald him selfe to the enemies (as he tooke it) of his countries liberty, but still to his power defended the same by all means that possibly hee could deuise. This blouddy battaile was fought on *Mary Magdelens* day in the yeare of our redemption 1298. Whereat was slaine *John Steward* brother to the Lord Steward, *Macduff* Earle of *fife*, & the valiant knight *Saint John Graiham*, besids many other of good reckning, in the whole to the number of 1500. at the least, with very smal losse or none at all (to speake of) of the *English* party. This victory thus atcheiued the *English* army marched forwards to the towne of *S. Andrewes*, from thence thorow *Selkerke* forest to the Castel of *Aire*, but no-where they found resistance: then comming to the towne of *Anuan* they tooke the Castel of *Lochmaben*, and so returned into *England* by the *west* marches. In this iorney diuerse of the *Scottish* Nobility



Nobilitie & others, vpon hūble submiſſion were againe receiued into fauour. While king Edward remained at *Carlisle* he called a Parliament, wher-at he beſtowed lands and poſſeſſions within *Scotland* on the Noblemen of *England* that attended on him: vnto Earles he gaue Earledomes, to Barons Baronies, and to others according to their degrees. About the beginning of the next yeare he returned to *London*. He was no ſooner out off *Scotland* with his army, but preſently there was a new Viceroy ſet vp, one of the *Cumines*, who began to raiſe new ſtirrs there, amongſt ſome other they tooke the Caſtle of *Strineling*. But vnderſtanding that king Edward was gathering new forces wherewith to enter into *Scotland* againe, they began to conſult what was beſt to be done, not only for the preuenting of his preſent approach but eſpecially for the recouery of the kingdome, which was now in great danger by cōqueſt to be annexed to the Crowne of *Engl:* In the end they reſolued with all ſpeed to procure an abſtinence from war, to the intent that in the meane ſeaſon the might labor Pope *Boniface*, to take vpon him the protection of the realme of *Scotland*: thereby to auoid & ſhake off al maner of ſubiectiō to the king of *England*: for the Pope had lately before ſo far preuailed alreadie with king Edward, as that at his intreaty *John Balliol* was committed to the cuſtodie of the Biſhop of *Cambrai*, who vndertooke in the Popes behalfe, that his liberty ſhould not preiudice the quiet eſtate of either  
nation

nation *Engl:* or *Scotland*. According to this their resolution, the lords of *Scotl:* procured *Philip de Valois* the *French* king, to effect this their desired truce: which was granted for eleuen months, to *Whitsontide* following, beeing the more easilie cōpassed by him, by reaso king *Edward* had lately before married his sister. Hereupon for this time the army was dissolued being euen ready to haue entred into *Scotlā*. In the meane time the *Scottish* lords sent Ambassadors to *Rome*, presēting to the *Pope* a grieuous complaint of the proceedings of king *Edward*. That hee was fully bent to make a conquest of their country, vnlesse it would please his Holines, by the vertue of his prerogatiue in such cases to cōpound & order all differences as wel amongst theselues, as also betweene the king of *Engl:* and them, at his will and pleasure, wherunto they would willingly submit themselues.

The *Pope* gaue eare to their petition, hoping to gaine somthing by the bargaine, for with him no peny, no *Pater noster*. And first he began to quarrel with king *Edward*, because he would not at his intreatie restore vnto *Edward Balliol* those landes in *England* which descended vpon him, by the death of *John Balliol* his father now latelie deceased. Then he forbad him from thenceforth to make war with the *Scots*, because they had submitted themselues to the protection of the *Sea Apostolicall*, in whose power it now only rested to dispose of their kingdome, as seemed best to the  
same



same. And by way of preuention he further declared, that al such homage & fealtie, as the kings of *Scotland* in formertimes had done to the kings of *England* was onely for *Tiuidale*, *Penreth*, and such other Lands as they held within *England*, and not for the realme of *Scotland*, as hee would haue it. Lastly, whereas the kings of *Scotland* had some-times serued the kings of *England* in their warres both at home and abroad, and had bin sondry times present at their coronations, al this proceeded of their voluntary accord, and especial fauor towards them, by reason of their neere-nesse in bloud, and not (as he tooke it) of any duty binding them thereto. King *Edward* in his answer herevnto, proued by euident reasons, that the right of Superiority and command ouer the realme of *Scotland*, did iustlie belong vnto him, and that the allegations made to the contrarie were vaine and frivolous. Besides the kings letters, the Nobility also of the realme being now asssembled in Parliament at *Lincolne*, ioyned in the framing of an other letter, answering in the name of the three estates vnto that poynt of the Popes pretended right, to intermeddle in the cause, betweene the king their maister, and the Lords of *Scotland*, & that it was neuer before knowne, that the kings of *England* had answered, or of right ought to answer, for any thing they clamed, before any iudge ecclesiasticall or seculer, yea though the king would therevnto yeald yet wold they

they neuer giue their consentes vnto it seeing it would so much preiudice, his dignity royall and the ancient customes and priuileges of the realme. This letter, bare date the twelst of February, in the yeare of grace 1301. and was signed vnder the hands and seales of these Noblemen whose names follow. viz.

*John Earle Warren, Thomas Earle of Lancaster, Ralfe de Monthermer Earle of Glocester & Herford, Humfrey de Bohum Earle of Hereford and Essex and Constable of England. Roger Bigod Earle of Norfolk Marshall of England, Guie Earle of Warwick, Richard Earle of Arundel, Audomar de valence lord of Monterney, Henry de Lancaster Lord of Monmouth, John de Hastings Lord of Bergeuenny, Henry de Percy Lord of Topelisse, Edmond de Mortimer Lord of Wigmore, Robert fitzwater Lord of Woodham, John de Saint Iohn Lord of Hannake, Hugh de veer Lord of Swanestampe, William de Brewse Lord of Gower. Robert de Mounthault Lord of Hewarden. Robert de Tateshal Lord of Wokeham, Reignald de Grey Lord of Ruthin, Henry de Gray Lord of Codnore. Hugh Bardalfe Lord of Wormegaie, Robert de Clifford Chatellaine of Appleby, Peter de Malow Lord of Mulgreene. Philip Lord of Kine, Robert Fitz Roger Lord of Claueringes, Ioh. de Mohun Lo. of Dunester, Almerick de S. Amonde Lord of Widehay, Willia de Ferrers Lo. of Groby, Alaine de Zouche Lo. of Asby, Theobalde de Vernon Lo. of Webbeley, Tho. de Furniwall Lo. of Schesfield, Tho. de Moulton Lo.*



Lo. of Egremont: William Latimer, Lo. of Corbie.  
 Tho. Lord Berkeley: Foulke Fitzwarren Lo. of Mit-  
 ingham: John Lo. Seagraue, Edmond de Enicourt  
 Lo. of Thurgerton: Peter Corbet Lord of Cans,  
 William de Cantelow Lord of Rauenshorpe: John de  
 Beauchampe Lo. of Hacchie, Roger de Mortimere  
 Lo. of Penkethlin: John Fitz Reinald Lord of Blen-  
 lenenie: Ralfe de Neuell Lord of Rabie, Brian Fitz-  
 Alaine Lo. of Bedale. William Marshall Lord of  
 Hengham: Walter Lo. Huntercombe, Willia Martin  
 Lo. of Camies: Henrie de Thies Lord of Chilton, Ro-  
 ger de Ware Lo. of Isfield: John de Riuers Lo. of Au-  
 gre, John de Lancaster Lo. of Grisedale, Robert Fitz-  
 Paine Lo. of Lumnier: Henry Tregoz Lord of Ga-  
 rings: Robert Pipard Lo. of Lomford: Walter Lord  
 Faucomberg: Roger le Strange Lord of Ellesmere,  
 John le Strange Lo. of Cuokin: Tho. de Chances, Lo.  
 of Norton, Water de Beauchampe lor. of Alecester:  
 Rich. Falbot lor. of Eccleswell: John Butetourt lord  
 of Mendesham: John Eugain lor. of Colum; Hugh  
 de Poynes lor. of Cornenalet, Adam lord of Welles;  
 Simond lord Montacute, John lord Sulle: John de  
 Moells lord of Candeburie. Edmond Baron Staf-  
 ford: John Lowell lord of Hackings: Edmond lor. of  
 Elchimhonocks, Ralfe Fitz-William lo. of Grimthope:  
 Robert de Scales lor. of Neufells, William Tushet lo.  
 of Lewenhales. John Abadin lor. of Deuerstone: John  
 de Haverings lor. of Grafton. Robert Lewarde lor. of  
 Whitehall: Nicholas de Seagraue lo. of Stowe. Walter  
 de Teylor. of Stonegrane. John de Lisle lor. of Wodtō,  
 Eustace

*Eustace Lord Hacchie, Gilbert de Peché Lord of Corby, William Painell Lord Trachington, Roger de Albo Monasterio, Foulke le Strange Lord of Corsham. Henrie de Pinckney Lord of Wedon: Iohn de Hodelestone Lord of Aneys: Iohn de Huntingfield Lord of Bradingham, Hugh Fitz-Henry Lord of Rauēswath: Iohn Daleton Lord of Sporle: Nicholas de Carry Lord of Mulefford: Thomas lord de la Roche: Walter de Muncie Lord of Thorntone: Iohn Fitz-Marmaduke lord of Horden, Iohn lord of Kingston: Robert Hastings the Father, lord of Chebeffey: Raphe lord Grendon: William lord Leiborne: Iohn de Greslock lord of Morpeith: Mathew fitz-Iohn lord of Stokenham. Nic: de Nenell lord of wherlton, and Iohn Paniell lord of Ateley: foure score and foureteene Barons.*

The truce expired, the King passed with his armie into *Scotland* about *Midfomer* following, where he remained all that summer, and the next winter he kept his *Christmasse* at *Lithcoe*, where he lost many of his great horses, the season not seruing to make sufficient prouision for the keeping of them there. The *Scots* in the meane time hauing laboured the *French* king to that end, obtained another truce till *Hallontide* next, whervpon the King returned into *England*. Neither ceased they still to perswade the Pope to vndertake the defence of their country: but hee vpon the receipt of the former letters out of *England*, began to waxe colde in the matter, and the rather because beeing now false out with the *French* king



king, he hoped to procure king *Edward* to make war vpon him, offring to take his part in the quarrel, but neither his holines nor hipocrisie preuailed therein. When this latter truce was come to an end, the king sent the Lord *John Seagraue* into *Scotland*, accompanied with *Ralfe Comfrey* and a competent power to keepe the country quiet, & to recouer the Castle of *Sterling*. The *English* Army entring into *Lothian*, seuered it selfe into three companies, foure miles distant one from the other, to the end they might be the more plentifully serued of victualls. The enemye taking the aduantage of this manner of marching, suddenly in the morning set vpon the foremost companie, lead by the Lord *Seagraue*, and made such slaughter, as fewe or none escaped with life. When knowledge was brought backe to theyr fellowes that followed them next in order, the Lord *Neuell* that had the leading thereof, with certaine horse-men came vpon the spurres, and rescued the Lord *Seagraue*, who otherwise had bin taken, or slaine. *Ralfe Comfrey* after this misfortune, not holding it conuenient to attempt any further interprise at that time (beeing much ouermatched with number and strength) returned with the residue into *England*: This overthrow was giuen the *Englishmen* at *Rosling* within five miles of *Edenborough* the 24. day of February in the yeare 1302.

King *Edward* was not a little moued with the losse

losse of these men, and therefore hauing gathered a puissant armie, about Midsomer following hee made his last iourney into *Scotland*, purposing to bring the same wholly to his obedience. At his approach, the enemy being not able to make head against him, gaue way on euery side, flying to the Mountaines, and other places vnaccessible, so as the king in manner without any resistance passed thorow the land euen vnto *Cathness*, the furthest part of *Scotland*. Many of them perceiuing how farre vnable they were to with-stand his forces, submitted them-selues, on condition they might inioy againe their possessions, which the King had giuen to his followers the Lords of *England*; they redeeming the same of them at some reasonable rate: where-vnto the King consented. In his returne he caused the Castle of *Sterling* to be besieged, but he himselve lay at *Dumfermling* the greater part of the next Winter, whether the Queene his Wife ( hauing remained a long time at *Tinmouth* ) came at length vnto him. The siege hauing continued three moneths, the Castell was surrendred, the liues of them that kept it onely reserued.

Before his departure, the King caused all the *Scottish* Nobilitie to repaire to Saint *Andrewes* Towne, where they tooke a new oath of their allegiance vnto him. Such as hee held suspected, hee carried with him into *England*, together with diuers monuments and antiquities:  
K amongst



amongst which, the Marble Stone of *Scone* Abbey, wherein the Kings of that realme accustomed to sitte at the time of their Coronation, was of speciall account. It remaineth at this day at Westminster, not farre from the place where hee lyeth intombed. This Stone hath such a fatall destinie following it (as the *Scottes* then beleued) as that where-so-euer it should bee found, ouer that Countrey should a *Scottish* man raigne, in how short time this may come to passe no man knoweth. The King at his departure committing the gouernment of *Scotland*, to the Lord *John Sea-graue*, returned into *England*, hoping that now hee had made an end of his warres there, and brought the whole realme into a peaceable estate vnder his obedience: but it did not so fall out. For about this time dyed *Robert Bruce* Earle of *Carricke*, who stood for the crowne of *Scotland*, against *Balliol* the last King. Wherevpon *Robert Bruce* his sonne began to cast about, by what meanes hee might now attaine the same. But whether hee were set on worke by the Lord *Cumin*, to the end hee might bee so much the neerer vnto it himselfe, (for hee was descended from *Mary* the other Daughter of *Allaine* Lord of *Gallowaye*, and so after the extirpation of the two families of the *Balliols* and the *Bruses*, was next to the Crowne,) or whether it proceeded from himselfe (hauing so good title there-vnto) without acquainting the other

with

with his meaning, he was no sooner entred into the plot, but was discouered by the Lord *Cumin*: which being made knowne vnto him, he thought himselfe in no safety in *England*, and therefore by secret flight passing into *Scotland*, hee set vpon *Cumin* at vnawares ( who otherwise had beene ouer-strong for him ) and so dispatched him out of the way. Then hee caused himselfe forthwith to bee crowned King of *Scotland*, by the Countesse of *Bougham*, in the absence of her brother the Earle of *Fife*, then in *England*, at his Mannor of *Whitwicke* in *Leicestershire*, to whom that office by inheritance appertained. This Lady was afterwarde ( for her punishment for this offence ) put into a Cage of wood, which being placed on the walls of the Castell of *Edenborough*, was for a while made a gazing stock to the passengers by it. Immediatly vpon the newes of the coronation of *Bruse*, the King sent an army into *Scotland*, vnder the conduct of the Earle of *Pembrooke* his Lieutenant there, the Lord *Henry Percie*, and the Lord *Robert Clifford*, here-with to resist the new attempts of the *Scottes* vnder their new King. *Bruse* ( in the meane time ) knowing against whom hee was to contend, sought by all meanes to make himselfe as strong as possibly he could: & therefore ranging the coasts vp & downe he assembled some fewe small forces, where-with he approched the towne *S. Johns*, purposing there first to make trial of his fortunes; but the Earle of



*Pembrooke* by chance had first entred the towne with some 300. horse-men, besides foote-men. *Bruse* sent him word that he was come thither to fight with him and all his partakers, if hee would come forth. The Earle answered, hee would rest that day being the Sabaoth, but on the next morning he would accept of his chalenge. *Bruse* here-vpon with-drew his armie a mile backe againe from the towne, meaning to be-take himsele and his people that night to their rest, but he was dis-quieted sooner then he looked; for the Earle issuing out of the towne a little before night about the beginning of the Calends of August, assailed them so sodenly, as that he had slaine a great numbee, before they could get armour and weapons for their defence, so as after a little resistance the *Scots* with their new king were put to flight. The Earle following the chase pursued them vnto *Kenter*, and vnderstanding that *Bruse* was entred a Castle ther-about, he belieged & presently tooke the same, wherein he found his wife & his brother *Nigell* with some others, but *Bruse* him-sele was fled vnto the mountaines, these he sent presently to *Berwicke*. This Lady was the daughter of the Earle of *Ulster* in *Ireland*, who had lately before sent ouer vnto *K. Edward* two of his sonnes to remaine in *England* for pledges of their fathers fidelity, for whose sake she found great fauor. Shortly after, was the castle of *Lochdore* take by th *English-men*, & in it *Christopher Seton*, that had married the  
sister

sister of *Bruse*; by birth hee was an *English-man*, and had before slaine a Knight of *England* in some bad manner, for the which fact especially he was by the kings cōmandement executed at *Dunfries*, where the same was committed: the like execution was also made at *Berwicke* vpon *Nigell Bruse*, and the rest of his companions. But the Earle of *Atholl* (who was also taken about the same time) was remoued to *London*, where he was beheaded and his head set on a pole ouer *London-bridge*. Though *Bruse* in the meane season was put to many hard shifts, wandring in desert places like a forelorne man, not-with-standing hee would not giue ouer so good a cause, but after a little breathing, began a fresh to bestur him, so as, what by entreaty & threats, he gathered some few troops of horfmen about him; and whilest hee was thus occupied himselfe in one place, he sent two of his brothers (the one a Knight, the other a priest) into other parts of the country, to procure what aide they could. But as they were thus busied, they were both taken, condemned of treason, and for the same executed. These misfortunes stil following, one in the necke of another, little or nothing allaied the thirst of a kingdom, for he knew his cause was iust, and that howsoeuer his sinnes had deserued, especially the murther he committed at the very entrance into this actiō, yet should he die (if it came to that) in a good quarel. Hauing therefore happily reconciled himselfe to God,



whom he had therein greivously offended, with the better courage hee fully resolved to pursue his enterprice. Beeing now some what better strengthened with the aide of the Ilanders, hee incountried the Earle of *Pembrooke*, and put him to flight, the like hap shortly after hee had against the Earle of *Glocester*. These small hartnings, did incourage *Bruse* to attempt greater aduentures, so as within short time he recouered diuers Castels, but being not able to man them, hee cast them downe to the ground. King *Edward* hauing knowledge of these his proceedings in *Scotland*, by his letters directed into certaine countries fittest for that seruice, gaue commandement, that as many as were able to vse a weapon, should within three weekes after Midsomer, attend him at *Carlisle*. But before the appointed time was come, the king fell sicke there, from whence being removed to *Brough* on the sand, he departed out of

1307. this life in the 35. yeare of his raigne, An. 1307.

By the death of King *Edward*, the state of the affaires betweene these two Nations was much altered, for his sonne and successour king *Edward* the second, being now not above three and twentie yeares olde, was giuen (after the manner of youth) more to follow his pleasures, then the cares and trauels of a martiall life. And therefore neglecting his businesse in *Scotland*, gaue fitt opportunity to his enimie there by little and little, to cast off the yoke of seruitude, vnder which his

father

father by his valiancie had brought them. So as while this youthfull King sought nothing more, then to spend his time in voluptuous pleasure & riotous excesse, making such his familiers, and chiefe minions about him, as best fitted his humor: *Bruse* on the other side wholly induored by all possible meanes, how to restore his country to her former liberty and quiet estate, now wel nere brought to the brinke of an vnrecouerable downfal. And by his good fore-sight and singuler manhood, hee so much preuailed, as that in the space of three or foure yeares, he recouered his kingdom: for hauing bin much inured with hardnesse & trauel, together with his long experience in managing the affaires of state, as well in time of peace as of war, he had no small aduanrage thereby of the other. The father dying not aboue a weeke before his intended iorney once againe into *Scotlād*, the king his sonne finding all things in so good readines, was aduised to make triall with these forces that were then come to *Carleil*, what intertainment hee should finde at the *Scotishmens* hands: Being come to *Dumfries*, hee summoned the *Scotish* Nobility to repaire thither vnto him, where diuers of them acknowledged their allegiance & homage. But here he could not now tary, being hasted homewards to make preparation for his iorney into *France*, where shortly after he married the Lady *Isabell*, daughter to *K. Philip* surnamed the faire. At his departure he committed the wardenship of *Scotland* to *Iohn de Britaine*, whom



withal he created Earle of *Richmond*. Amongst all the *Scotish* Lordes that tooke part with *England* none was so great an enemy to *Bruse* as the Lord *John Cumin* Earle of *Buguhau*, for the murther committed vpon his Ancestor, as before you haue heard; now therefore to bee reuenged, as also to show his forwardnesse to performe some acceptable seruice for the King of *England*, hee gathered such forces (*English* and *Scotish*) as hee could make, and there-with approched his enemy. *Bruse* (beeing yet barely recouered of a late sicknesse) vpon a boun-courage incountred him at a strait, and in the end discomfited his armie, making great slaughter of his men. This victorie did so reuiue *Bruse* his feeble and languishing spirits, as that from thence forward hee still preuailed in all his interprises. So as following his good fortune, in short time he reduced the countries of *Anguile* and *Galloway*, vnder his obedience. King *Edward* not well brooking these daily losses, raised a mightie powre, wherewith about the middest of August in the beginning of the fift yeare of his raigne, hee intered into *Scotland*, accompanied with the greater number of his Nobilitie, amongst whom *Peter Gauestonne* (whom he now created Earle of *Cornewall*) was in greatest fauour with him: on whom also hee bestowed the signorie of the Ile of *Man*, which within three yeares after, *Bruse* recouered from him: King *Edward*, raunging his people in battell

tell aray, passed thorough the country as farre as *Reufren*, and then returned againe with little or no resistance. For *Bruse* beeing not yet of sufficient power to incounter his huge Armie, kept himselfe out of his walke, knowing king *Edward* could not tary long there, because he had taken such order before, that nothing remained wherewith to relieue so great a number. He was no sooner turned home-ward, but the *Scots* were ready to follow him at his heeles, so as entring into *Lothian*, they did great hurt to the inhabitants, and returned at their pleasure before they could be ouertaken by the *Englishmen*. King *Edward* comming to *Berwicke* stayed there all the next winter, and fortified the Towne with a strong wall and ditch, somewhat hee caused to be done likewise at *Roxbrugh* and *Norham*, which two Castells he committed to the custodie of the Earles of *Cornewall* and *Glocester*, and so the next spring returned into *England*, and ceassing any further at this time to prosecute his affayres in *Scotland*, he turned all his malice and fury against his own subiects, amonst whome the Earles of *Lancaster*, *Glocester* and *Warwicke* being not able any longer to indure the outrageous pride and insolencie of *Gauestone*, supported against them by the vnmeasurable and doting affection of the king towards him, sought meanes to haue him apprehended, and once againe banished; or, if they fayled thereof, then to bee reuenged some other way. The  
king.



king hauing knowledge of their intent conuict-  
ed him to the Castle of *Scarbrugh*, not so close-  
ly, but that it was made knowne to the Lordes  
his aduersaries, who pursuing him present-  
lie thither, they forced him to yeelde himselfe  
into their handes, and in conclusion (without  
further aduifement) *Guye Earle of Warwick* cau-  
sed his head to bee stroken off. The King (not  
without cause) tooke this their vnlawfull act  
in such scorn, as that euer after (though for  
the present he dissembled his displeasure) hee  
sought occasion how to bee reuenged. By rea-  
son of this priuie hart-burne betweene the king  
and his Nobles, the *Scotish* affayres were negle-  
cted on all parts, so as in the meane season *Bruse*  
had brought vnder his obedience the better part  
of that kingdome. Wherefore it was now high  
time to do somewhat, if the king made any rec-  
koning to hold that nation in such state as it was  
left by the late deceased king his Father. Heere-  
vpon hee once againe assembled a puissant and  
gallant armie, such, as for multitude & gorgious  
aray, was neuer seene before in *Scotland* purpo-  
sing not onlie to make a full conquest thereof,  
but to leaue behind him such store of *English*  
people, as should be sufficient to inhabite those  
Countries, which thorough the long continu-  
ance of warre were left well neere desolate.  
*Bruse* vnderstanding of this great preparation  
forslaked no time to make what resistance hee  
could

could. And by how much hee was ouer weake in power, to resist his aduersarie, it behooued him to bee so much the more circumspect by art and policie to get what aduantage hee could against him. Hauing therefore brought his armie, ( which consisted of some thirty fife thousand such men, as reposed theyr whole confidence for life, landes and else whatsoeuer onely in the force and courage of their handes and hearts ) to the further banke of the Riuer *Bannock*, there hee stayed the comming of the Conqueror. This Riuer runneth into the *Furth* hauing very high and steepe bankes on both sides, and here and there certaine straite and narrow passages ouer it, some-what also beneath the cliftes before his fall, it lieth flat, but the passage ouer there was hindered, thorough certaine suncken marriish grounds and quagmires, neuerthelesse at that time of the yeare passable enough in many places. In these plots he caused deepe ditches to bee cast, and sharpe pointed stakes of wood to bee strucken downe in them, in such manner as hauing their toppes couered with light turues, they might easilie deceiue those that fore-cast no such perill.

And where the passage was more firme hee caused Caltroppes to bee scattered for the annoyance of the horsemen. When euery thing was thus disposed and framed to his best aduantage, the King of England approching with  
his



his royall Armie, set his people in battaile araye on this side the riuer ouer-against the *Scots*. The first day was spent with certaine light skirmishes betweene the horse-men, not much to the losse or gaine of either partie. Though the night at that time of the yeare, was there very short or none at all, being the xxiii. day of Iune: yet such was the earnest desire on eyther side, to ioyne in fight, as that vnto them both it seemed ouer-long. *Bruse* lead the middle battaile, hauing his brother on his right hand, and *Randolph* on the left. The *English* Armie was marshalled in the same manner, thoroughly interlined with good store of Archers. The men of Armes gaue the first onset, and rushing together vpon the hidden points of those stakes, that were set for that purpose, they were all ouer-throwne before they could come neere the *Scots*, who watching the expected aduantage, and falling vpon them readily, made an exceeding bloody slaughter of them. They that escaped, made so confused a retraite, as the maine battaile of foot-men that followed them was not a little thereby disordered. The *Scottes* therewith ioyned with them hand to hand, and maintained the fight very valiantly, but the *English* Archers for a time were very troublesome vnto them, vntill certaine light horse-men assailing them at their backes, ouer-threw a great number, and dispersed the rest. But yet the enemies force preuailed not so much, as did his  
fraud

fraud, here againe, for the rascall sort, men, women and boyes, that attended their cariages, mounting vpon their Cart-iades, and other Draught-cattle, with their sherts aboue their other garments, and banners and flagges made of their sheetes and aprons, and such like stuffe, fastned to the tops of long poles, shewed themselves a farre off, descending from the top of an high hill, as if it had beene a new Armie hasting to the ayde of their fellowes. This sight stroke such a terror in those of the *English* Army that were neereſt vnto it, as that forth-with they be-tooke them to their heeles. The rest supposing the danger greater then it was, and beeing therewith much disordered, fled all for feare they knew not whereof, their Captaines not beeing able by any meanes to keepe them in. Exceeding great slaughter was made of the common souldiers in the chase. King *Edward* with some fifteene Earles in his companie with much difficultie escaped by flight, being receiued by the Earle of *Marche* into his Castle of *Dunbar*, from whence they were conueied by sea to *Berwicke*. Of the Nobilitie of *England* were slaine *Gilbert* Earle of *Gloceſter*, *Robert* Lord *Clifford*, the Lord *Giles Argentine* (whose death *Bruse* much lamented, for the great loue that was betweene the afore-time in *England*) the Lord *Panie Tiptoft*, the Lord *William Marshall*, the Lord *Reginold Damiecourt*, the Lord *Edmond de Manley* (the kings Steward) with



with other to the number of forty two. Of knights threescore and seven. The Earle of *Hereford*, the Lord *John Seagraue* and others to the number of two and twentie men of name were taken prisoners. Of the *Scots* were slaine about foure thousand, amongst whom Sir *William Weapont*, and Sir *Walter Ros* were the principall men of account. This was the most notable victorie, that euer the *Scots* had ouer the *Englishmen*, which came to passe, only by the misguiding and want of experience in their leaders and capitaines, presuming ouer much of their aduantage in number & furniture of weapons: neither were they so circumspect, as it behoued them to be, in the discouery of aduantage or disaduantage, which the plot of ground where the battell was fought, might afford to the one side more then to the other. For they might haue coniectured euen by *Bruse* his abiding in the field with so small a power against so great a puissance (being of *Englishmen* more then two to one *Scot*) that he relied more vpon the successe of his hidden deceipts, then of his owne strength. This battell was fought on

7 1314. Midsummer day in the yeare 1314.

Here-upon *Striuelling* Castle was rendred vp, *Bruse* his wife was vpon exchange sent home, hauing beene in *England* about eight yeares. After *Bruse* had thus fortunatlie recovered his kingdome, he was by generall consent of his subjects confirmed and established in the same. The Crowne

Crowne was intailed vpon the heyres Males of his bodie lawfully begotten, and for want of such issue to remaine to his brother *Edward Bruce* and the Heyres Males of his bodie, and for default thereof, the same should descend vpon the Ladie *Margery* the Kings eldest daughter, whome onelie hee begat on his first wife sister to the Earle of *Mar*. Which Lady by the aduice of his Noblemen, was bestowed in marriage on *Walter* high Steward of *Scotland*, on whose posteritie the Crowne shortlie after descended, and in the same familie continueth till this day, taking that surname of the office which theyr Ancestors bare, and was first bestowed on *Walter* the sonne of *Fleance*, by King *Malcolme Cammore*, for his notable seruice against the Rebelles of *Galloway*. What thorough the losse of so many mens liues, and the domage which our Nation susteyned at this last battell, and the great dearth and death of man and beast, that thorough the vnseasonable state of those times continued, for the space of three yeares after small resistance or none at all was made against the *Scots*, who taking the benefit of this aduantage, ceased not exceedinglie to annoy and trouble the Realme by their continuall incursions.

Hereof Pope *Iohn* the 22. taking compassion, at the Kings sute sent ouer two Cardinales, *Gancellino* his Chancellor, and *Lucas de Frisco*,  
to



to mediate a peace betweene the two Nations.

But king *Robert* held it yet out of season, to hearken thereunto, hauing (as he tooke it) not sufficiently beene satisfied for his former losses and displeasures. Whereupon these iollie Chaplaines proceeded against him with all extremitie denouncing him and all his fautors accursed, and putting his kingdome (whereof they accounted him but a vsurper) vnder interdiction. But all these bumbaced skarre-crowes nothing abated king *Roberts* corage, who still following his good hap, while the time best serued for it, held on his former course so eagerlie, as that in short time hee recovered the Castles and townes of *Harbottle*, *Warke*, *Medford*, and *Berwicke*, which last (it is said) was betrayed by *Peter Spalding* the Go- uernor, hauing remained *English* one and twenty yeares together. Neither would king *Robert* limit his kingdome by the ancient boundes but enlarged the same euen vnto *New-castle vpon Tine*. At this time also the *Scots* obtained diuers victories in *Ireland*, thorough the manhood of *Edward Bruse* their kings brother, who neuerthelesse in the end was flaine in battell, and aboue fve thousand *Scots* with him. His head was brought ouer and presented to king *Edward* by *John Birmingham*, for the which good seruice now and at sundry other times in *Ireland*, the king gaue him the Earledome of *Lowth*, to him & his heyres Males, and the Baronie of *Ashird* to him

him and his heires generally of his body begotten. The realme of *England* now being somewhat recouered of the hard estate it stood in the last three yeares, King *Edward* was desirous to make triall, if happily he might rubbe out the blemish of the late blowe receiued of his enemies in *Scotland*. Hauing therefore assembled his Armie at *Yorke* (who for the more patt were handy-crafts men and Artificers) passing from thence he layde siege to *Berwicke*. The *Scottes* in the meane time (vnder the conduct of *Thomas Randolph*) entring *England* on the other side, put all to fire, and sword, little resistance being made against them, for those countries lay well neere desolate since their inuasion the yeare before. The Archbishop of *Yorke* could not indure the enimies approach so neere him (being now come within two or three dayes marche of the Citie) and therefore assembling such people, as for the present hee could get (men that were readiest at his command) hee aduentured like a bold Champion to encounter the *Scots*, of whom ouer-late he learned this lesson, *Ne sutor ultra crepidam*. For the greater number of these gallants (some two thousand) were knockt downe, before they saw their enimies, who by setting certaine Haystackes on fire, and taking the winde of them, were vpon them, ere they knew what it meant. The Archbishop, and the Bishop of *Elye* Lord Chancellor, with the Abbot of *Selby* escaped by flight, but



1319.

*Nicholas Fleming* the Maire of *Torke* (that sticke better to it) was slaine. This hapned on the 12 of October 1319. at a place called *Mitton* vpon *Swaile*. And because this armie consisted most of Surplisse men, it was in derision called the white battaile, but most of them found it a black daie. King *Edward* feareing least the *Scotts* intended some further mischief, brake vp his siege and returned to *Torke*, where vnderstanding that the enemy was with-drawne home-ward he likewise tooke his way towards *London*. The next yeare passed ouer without any stirring on either side, the rather because the two Kings were disquieted at home by their owne subiects. In the meane time, at the procurement of King *Edward*, the Pope sent hyther his leaden bulles (which aduantaged him their weight in gold for hee is the best alchymist in Europe) to the Archbishops of *Canterburie* and *Torke* commanding them, that vnlesse the *Scottish* king would fourth-with make satisfaction for the wronges done to the realme, as well concerning the state ecclesiasticall as temporall, they should proceede to the denouncing of sentence against him and all his adherentes. But the *Scottes* made no reckning of the holie Fathers threatens, where-vpon the Bishoppes published his terrible execrations against them, so as King *Robert*, *James Douglasse* and *Thomas Randolfe* with all their partakers were at euerie masse thorough out *England*.

land solemlye accursed three times. Neuerthe-  
lesse the next yeare the *Scottes* invaded the land  
again a fresh, so that all this cost and coniura-  
tion little or nothing auailed. One companie  
vnder the conduct of the Earle of *Murry* assailed  
the Bishopricke of *Durham*. An other was leade  
by *James Dowglass*, and the Lord Steward of *Scot-*  
*land*, who also deuiding themselues, the one  
companie wasted the Country towards *Har-*  
*lepoole* and *Cleueland*, the other intended as  
much to *Richmonde*, where the townes-men to  
redeeme their peace departed with a good  
round some of mony payed vnto them, as they  
had done also latelie before. While the *Scottes*  
tooke their pleasure in this manner in the North  
partes for the space of fiueteene daies, the  
gentlemen there about repayred to *Pomfret* to  
the Earle of *Lancaster*, offering to ioyne with him  
against the enemye, but the Earle was not dis-  
posed to aduenture his life in the quarell of him,  
who (as he tooke it) had done him much wrong.  
But howe true soeuer that was, most certaine it  
is, that he both wronged himselfe and highlie of-  
fended his Soueraigne, in taking armes against  
him shortly after, which cost him no lesse price,  
then the losse of his life, as it bee fell to di-  
uerse others his partakers at the battaile at  
*Borough-bridge* the sixteene daie of March  
1321. This Earle was the greatest in title  
and



and possessions that euer yet was in *England*, for hee was together inuested with the Earldomes of *Lancaster, Lincolne, Leicester, Derby* and *Salisbury*. So as if hee had continued faithfull to his Prince, hee might haue beene a great ayde vnto him and the realme, but contrarywise (as it hath beene often since seene in this land) his greatnesse made him an enemy both to King and country, as appeared by diuerse letters out of *Scotland*, intercepted in their carriage hither to the Lords of his confederacie, which were openly read and published afterwards in *London*. During these troubles, the *Scots* and *French-men* ceased not to molest the realme on both sides: for King *Robert* about Midsomer following, entred by the West Marches as farre as *Kendall*, and from thence thorow *Lancashire* to *Preston* in *Andernesse*, burning and wasting all that stood in their way foure-score miles within the land, and hauing taken their pleasure for the space of three weekes, returned home without barraile. The King of *England* being thus molested by their continuall incurfions (hauing also sent his Brother *Edmond* Earle of *Kent*, ouer into *Guyenne* for the defence thereof against the *French-men*) passed yet once againe into *Scotland*. King *Robert* vnderstanding what great preparation was made and in readinesse for to come against him, thought it not fitte to hazard his estate, being now brought to the height  
of

of his desires, vpon the tickle successe of a bat-  
taile or two, and therefore hee caused all the  
Cattle and Sheepe in the countrie, to bee driuen  
vp to the Mountaines, and what so-euer else  
might serue the *Englishmen* to any good vse,  
was either bestowed in some place of strength,  
or else made vnfitte for any purpose. Hee with  
his horse-men with-drew them-selues further  
into the land, then that it should stand with the  
safetie of his enimies to approach them. Here-  
by it came to passe, that when King *Edward* was  
come to *Edenborough*, hee was forced for want  
of victuals and other necessaries, which bred  
many diseases amongst his people, within fif-  
teene dayes after his entrie into *Scotland*, to re-  
turne home-wardes, hauing onely by assault ta-  
ken *Norham* Castell. King *Robert* vnderstanding  
how much the *English* Armie was weakned by  
the great mortalitie of the common souldiours,  
ouer-passed not so fitte an opportunitie, but  
with all speed pursued the *Englishmen*, wasting  
and spoiling the land, euen as farre as *Torke*, and  
hauing gotten knowledge that king *Edward* was  
then at the Abbey of *Beighland*, hee so couertly  
conducted his Armie thither, as that setting on  
his enimies at vnawares, he put them all to flight,  
the king himselfe hardly escaping their hands.  
In this conflict (for some small resistance was  
made, such as their short warning would afford)  
The Lord *John Britaine* Earle of *Richmonde* was  
taken



1322.

taken prisoner, besides diuers other of the inferior sort. The kings treasure and furniture with all the prouision and preparation pertaining to the host was either spoyled or caried away. This hapned about the twelfth of October anno. 1322. After this defeature the *Scottes* passed further into the land, comming to *Bewerley*, the townsmen gaue them a summe of money wherewith they bought their peace, hauing now remained in *England* a month & foure daies they returned from thence home-wards. King *Edward* now despairing of any better successe in time to come, and withall foreseeing what trouble was likely to arise within his owne realme, (as afterwards came to passe) sought meanes to obtayne peace with *Scotland*, which in the end was yeilded vnto, and the same to endure for thirteene years, & about the tenth of *Iuly* in the yeare following it was proclaimed in the chiefe citties & townes of both Nations. The *Scottes* were also now content to be reconciled to the Pope, hauing first recovered & obtayned in *England* whatsoeuer they well-nere desired. At the same time the league was renewed with *Charles* the *French* King, lately then come to his Crowne, with an addition to the former articles, viz: that if at any time after, controuersie should arise about the succession and right to the Crowne of *Scotland*, the same should be heard and determined by the Nobility and peeres of those two Nations onely. King  
Edward

*Edward* hauing obtained peace with *Scotland*, the *French King* beganne to quarell with him for default of his personall apearance, being summoned therevnto to acknowledge his homage for the duchie of *Aquitaine*, and the country of *Poytou*, vpon which occasion the *Queene* his wife and the *Prince of Walles* were sent into *France* to treat with the king her brother of an agreement betweene him & her husband, which she effected. Neuerthelesse whether she was staid their against her will vpon some complaint made of her husband, or that she could not happily indure the two *Spencers*, who were then in greatest estimation with him; it seemed she had no great desire to returne into *England*, which being perceiued, or rather plotted by diuers of the Nobility and others fauoring her part more then the kings, they daylie passed ouer vnto her, by whom beeing brought into *England*, the greater number forsooke the King, and ioyned themselves with the *Queene* and her Sonne, into whose handes he was thereby forced in the ende to resigne his Crowne and Scepter, and shortlie after to yeeld his bodie to the violence of his cruell tormentors, who beereaued him of life, as the others did of lybertie, hauing raigned neere twentie yeares. Such was the ende of this vnfortunate King, by whose misgouernment the Realme was greatlie impouerished and weakned, hauing beene the destruction of so



many noble personages and others of good account. For besides those that were slaine in the warres with the *Scots*, well neere thirtie Noblemen and Knights at one time or other were by order of law beheaded and executed. This king *Edward* being thus vnnaturally deposed, his Son of the same name, about the age of fourteene yeares began his raigne in Ianuarie in the yeare

1326. 1326. The night following, the *Scots* purposing to haue giuen the yong King a cooling card now in the beginning of his iolity, attempted by treason to haue taken the Castle of *Norham*. But *Robert Mannors* the Captaine thereof, beeing made afore hand acquainted with the practise by a *Scot* one of his owne souldiers, so handled the matter, that when some 16. of them had mounted the walles, he sodainely fell vpon them, slew nine or ten and tooke the rest prisoners.

The *Scots* deemed this vnfortunate beginning a presagement of the like successe thorough his whole raigne, which came to passe accordinglie. For he was the greatest scourge to that nation of any king of *England* either before or after him, as in the processe of the historie shall appeare. Notwithstanding this hard beginning, king *Robert* thought it not good to let this land continue quiet, but rather while the king was yong, vnfit to manage the affaires of war in his own person, to get what aduantage he could thereby, & so to be still afore hand. And if that course should happen

not to fall out according to his expectation, hee hoped by the helpe of his faithful ally the *French* king, so to work with the kings mother (who governed and disposed of al things at her pleasure, during his minority) that at any time hee might obtaine peace with *England* at his owne liking. About the beginning therfore of Iuly following king *Robert* committed his armie (being now not wel able, thorough the infirmities of age to vnder take that charge himselfe) to three Captaines of especiall trust & approued valiancy, namelie *Thomas Randolfe* Earle of *Murrey*, *James* Lord *Dowglasse*, & the Earle of *Mar* his brother in law, consisting of aboue twenty thousand horsemen well furnished at all points. King *Edward* beeing aduertised hereof, prepared to make resistance, & hauing assembled his forces at *Yorke*, hee stayed there the longer by reason of a treaty of peace, solicited by the *Scotish* Ambassadors, but when the king perceiued hee lost time there to no purpose, departing thence hee approched his enemies, that were lodged in the *Woodes* in *Stanop Parke*, so as it was thought hee had them at a great aduantage.

But thorough the Treacherie (as it was said) of the Lord *Roger Mortimer*, after they had been pend vp and well neere famished, they did not onely finde a way out, but some two hundred of them vnder the leading of the Lord *Dowglasse* in the night season, desperatelie assayled that



that part of the *Englisb* campe, where the king him selfe was lodged, missing not much of either taking or slaying of him, but fearing least they should haue beene inclosed, beeing now in the mydde of their enemies, they made the more hast to be gonne, hauing done as much harme as the time would suffer them. For (as it was sayd) they slewe two or three hundred of the common souldiours. The Earle of *Lancaster* and the Lord *John Beaumont* of *Heynault* (who with twelue hundred men of his country serued the King in this iorney) would willingly haue pursued the *Scottes* ouer the water of *Wier*, but that thorough the frowardnesse of *Mortimer*, pretending a right to the leading of the fore-ward, and giuing the first onset, (though happilie hee had no such meaning) they could not bee suffered to proceede. Wheresoeuer the fault was, nothing was further attempted at this time, wherewith the King was much displeased. The *Scottes* beeing glad they had escaped that daunger, made as much hast home as they could. The next winter they besiedged the Castells of *Norham* and *Anwicke*, but to their losse, for at the assault of *Anwicke* diuerse of them were slaine, amongst whome *William de Mounthault*, *John Clappam* and *Malicius de Dumbarre* were of best account.

The next Sommer aboute *Pentecoste*, King *Edward*

ward at a Parliament held at *Northampton*, thorough the working of *Mortimer* & the *Queene*, agreed to a dishonorable peace with the *Scottes*, whereby the King of *Scotland* receiued into his handes all those ancient writings, whereby his predecessors the kings of *Scotland*, and the Nobility had aforetime, vnder their hands & seales, acknowledged homage and fealty to the Kings of *England*; amongst the rest one of principall account called *Ragman*, together with a blacke Crozier or Roode, besides diuerse other iewells sometime belonging to the kings of *Scotland*, & caried from thence into *England*. Further King *Edward* hereat resigned al his right & title to the crowne of *Scotland*, and that no *Englishmen* should from thence-forth hold and inioye any landes or possessions their, except such as would remaine their altogether, and become subiectes to the Kings of *Scotland*. Finallie it was agreed, that *Northumberland* should thence-forth bee reputed the Marches of *Scotland*, on the East-side, and *Cumberland* on the West-side. In consideration of the premises, as also for the great damage done to this Realme by the *Scottes*, during the raigne of the late King, King *Robert* couenanted to giue to the King of *England* thirtie thousand markes sterling. For the more assurance and full ratification of this finall agreement of peace betweene the two nations, a marriage was then concluded, and after-



afterward solemnized betweene the Lady *Iane* King *Edwards* Sister, and Prince *David* of *Scotland*. When King *Robert* had thus politikelie brought to passe a firme peace with *England*, euen to his owne liking and hearts desire, hee tooke himselfe to a priuate life, and by reason of his great age, he committed the gouernment of his kingdome (as before in some sort hee had done) to the Earle of *Murrey*, and the Lord *Dowglas*; and then hauing worne out one yeare more, hee dyed in the yeare of our saluation, 1329. leauing his kingdome to his sonne, a child about eight yeares old, by reason whereof both the one and the other, by generall consent was committed to the protection and direction of the Earle of *Murrey*. Here it is requisite, I should answer a notorious vntrueth, wherewith the *Scottish* writers doe most vniustly charge the King of *England*, viz: That he should send a Munke into *Scotland*, vnder the colour of ministring phisick, to poyson the Gouernor, and because he had not dispatched his businesse in so short tyme as hee promised, therefore King *Edward* caused him to be burned alieue. All this should bee done (they write) in the yeare 1331. two yeares after the death of King *Robert*, in which the gouernor also deceased, on the 20. day of Iuly. I would first know what should mooue the King of *England* to seeke the destruction of him, more then of any man else in that Realme? because (forsooth) he

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hee alone was the confounder of all the hope, which the king conceiued, to be sometimes able to atchieue any fortunate interprise against the *Scots*. As though all that nation could not afford his fellowe. That hee was the very *Atlas* and supporter of their happy estate. True it is, that the deceased king had reason to commit more trust to him, then to anie other of whose loyalty and sufficiencie he had not the like tryall. But it followeth not thereof, that if king *Edward* could dispatch him out off the waie, there had beene none left to haue resisted his attempts against that nation.

But admit he was the man they make him, it is well knowne that King *Edward* (being then not much aboue eightene yeares old) was not only ouer yong to contriue such a practise, but was then still directed by his Mother *Queene Isabel*, & so consequently by *Mortimer* Earle of *March* her chiefe Counsellor, both so great fauourers and maintainers of the peace with *Scotland*, as that hee lost his life shortly after for the same. It is further affirmed, That this Monke stealing secretlie out off *Scotland* assured the King, that the *Gouernor* could not possiblie liue beyond a prefixed day, in which time, the poyson was to worke his effect, and that King *Edward* presuming thereof, gathered a mightie and puissant armie, wherewith coming to the borders, hee purposed to invade *Scotland*, had he not knowne  
when



when he came thither, that the gouernour was not only lyuing, but ready in armes to haue resisted his approach. Now of all this preparation and iourney, there is not one word to be found amongst all our Croniclers. But to the contrarie it appeareth, that (besides the confirmation of the former peace, vpon the admittance of this Earle to the Regency) the sommer next before his death, was so vnseasonable, as that it caused a great dearth in *England* all the yeare following: so as it was impossible to make prouision for such an army, neither could those more Northern partes afford it of their owne store. For (it is sayd) that in some places of the realme, especiallie North-wards (by reason of the coldnesse of that climate) wheate was not gathered into the barne till hallontide, nor pease vntill the ende of Nouember. Moreouer King *Edward* was in *France* well neere all the month of Aprill next before the gouernours death, and after his returne thence hee had so little meaning to make preparation of warre, as that hee held solemne iustes and turney at *Dert-forde*, which exercises hee renewed againe at *London* in September following. How can all this agree with the surmised preparation of warre with *Scotland*, at that time? Now to the last poynt touching the burning of this Monke, (whereof some of them for the vnlike-lihood haue not spoken) it is incredible, that a religious

ligious man, a deuout Monke ( as they were then accounted ) should bee either murdered or executed, for not keeping promise, in the performance of an vnlawfull and vnchristian act. But where, when, on whome, or by whome was this vnusuall execution made? to no one of these interrogatories doth any man answere, saue that hee was a Monke or begging Frier. For they will not vouchsafe to giue him other name, though hee had beene a long time verie familier in the gouernors house. These bee therefore great flaunders, farre vnbecoming the reputation of him, that not long sence hath made no conscience to report the most part of this fable for a truth.

This yeare *Roger Mortimer Earle of March* was attaynted of high treason, and executed for the same on *Saint Andrewes* cauen. Amongst other matters where-with hee was charged, hee was found giltye of secrete practise with the *Scottes* at *Stanhope-parke* whereby they escaped as is aforesaid, and that hee receiued there of the Lord *James Douglas*, a great summe of money for the good seruice done by him at that time, and to bee still continewd towards that Nation whilst his authoritie should stand them insteede. Hereby also afterwarde hee brought to passe that vnaduised peace with the *Scottes* at *Northampton*, as is before declared.

About



About this time *Edward Balliol*, thorough the perswasion of *Laurence Twine* (a *Scottish* fugitive) came ouer out off *France*, where hee had alwayes liued before, to intreat the King of *England* to assist him in the recouery of his right to the Crowne of *Scotland*, which was giuen by a ward vnto *Iohn Balliol* by king *Edward* the first, promising withall, that if it were his good hap to attaine it, he would acknowledge to hold the same in manner as his Grand-father held it of the others Grand-father.

But before this motion was made to the king of *England*: *Balliol* sought the fauour of the Lord *Henry Beaumont* (a *Frenchman* borne) that had married the daughter and heyre of the Earle *Buguhan* and likewise of the Lord *William Cumine*, the lord *Dauid* of *Strabouee* Earle of *Atholl*, and the lord *Geffrey de Mowbraie*. These and some others that were banished the Realme of *Scotland* by the late King *Robert le Bruse*, & now liued in *England*, hauing in hope of preferment ioyned heartes & handes with *Balliol* in this quarell, obtained this fauour of king *Edward*, that as many of his subjects, as of themselves were willing to assist them in this enterprise should haue good leaue to follow them therein. For though the young king of *Scots* had beene affianced vnto king *Edwards* sister, who in respect of that alliance should not haue beene easilie drawne into this action: neuerthelesse he held himselfe so much disgraced  
and

and abused in his minority by the deceitful practise of *Mortimer*, that nothing now pleased him, that (together with that marriage) was then yeelded vnto, at that dishonorable composition made with the *Scottish* king at *Northampton* as before you haue heard. Neither was that contract of marriage so firme, but if either partie misliked thereof when they should come to lawfull age of consent, the same might safely bee dissolved. *Edward Balliol* hauing now assembled (by the helpe of the other two *Scottish* Lordes his confederates) some foure hundred horse, and about two thousand Archers and other footemen, tooke shipping at *Rauen-spurne* in *Holderness*, from thence directing his course Northward hee entred into the *Scottish* fourth, and arriued neere to the towne *Kingorne* on the first daie of August, where being incountred by *Alexander Seaton* hee slew him in the field, together with the greater number of his people, and put the residew to flight. This good beginning put such corage into these venterous companions in armes (fighting for no lesse then a kingdome) that with in some fewe daies after (their forces beeing now increased to the number of about ten thousand one and other) they attempted to assaile the Earle of *Muerri* (then Regent of *Scotland*) by night, where hee laie incamped in the midst of his armie, the same beeing ouer great otherwise to bee delt

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with



withall, and tooke him on such a sodaine that they put him to flight, making great slaughter vpon his people. The next day the fight was renewed on both sides, but in the ende the victory fell to *Balliol*. This battaile was fought at *Dueplin* on the thirteenth day of the same mōth, wherein was flaine (nowe and the night before) besides the Regent himselve, *Robert Bruce* Earle of *Carricke*, *William Haie* Constable, and *Robert Keith* Marshall of *Scotland* with diuerse other Lords and Leardes of good account: in the whole to the number of aboue fīue thousand.

Hereupon (diuerse of the *Scottish* Nobility submytting themselues to *Balliol*) hee was forthwith proclaimed, and on the 25. day of this present month of August, crowned King of *Scotland*, in the yeare of our Lord G O D 1332.

1332.

This his fortunate successe (hauing within lesse then a month attayned a Kingdome) greatly daunted the aduerse partie, who presently thereupon conuaied the young king together with his wife, for their more safety into *France*, hoping that by the helpe of *Philip* the *French* king, (his fathers especiall friend while he liued) he should one day inioy his kingdome, which for the present was thus vsurped by his aduersarie. To which end his fauoreres in the meane time neuer ceased to oppose themselues against *Balliol*, in so much as in December following they

they droue him out of *Scotland*, forceing him to with-drawe himselfe into *Westmerland*, where hee was honorablie entertayned of the Lord *Clifford*: in requitall whereof hee promised, that when hee was once established in his Kingdome, hee would giue him *Dowglasse-daile*, in as ample manner as his Ancestour had the same of the gift of King *Edward* the first, which afterwarde hee performed accordinglie. *Balliol* hauing renewed his forces in *England*, about the beginning of the next yeare, (though King *Edward* would not openlie shewe himselfe a partie therein) layed siedege to the towne of *Berwike*, at which time the *Brusian Scottes* entred into *Gelsland* by the West Marches, wasting the Countrie where they passed along.

The King of *England* being aduertised therof, thought himselfe sufficiently discharged there, by of his promise passed aforetime to young *Bruse* (but hee might better haue pleaded his nonage at the making thereof) and therefore tooke it to bee nowe lawfull enough openlie to aide his Cousin *Balliol* in the recouerie of his pretended title to the Crowne of *Scotland*. It is not to bee doubted but King *Edward* would not in this case haue preferred *Balliol* before *Bruse* (who besides that hee had married his Sister, was also in bloud nearer vnto him then the other) had hee not hoped (as it came,



to passe) to take vp the controuerſie betweene them to his owne aduantage. Hauing therefore assembled a strong army, hee came therewith to the ſiege of *Berwicke*, together with his brother *John* of *Eltham* Earle of *Cornewall* and gaue assault to the ſame both by Land and ſea. The towne after it had beene beſiedged about three monthes, was not able longer to hold out, which beeing well knowne to *Archibald Dowglaſſe* (the new elected gouernour and head of the *Brufian* faction) hee approched the aſſailants with all the power hee could make, (reſolving with himſelfe) (againſt the aduice of the better experienced) to try it out by dint of ſword with out any more ſtay. Being come within the view both of his friends and foes, he imbatrayled his army in three companies on a hill directly ouer againſt the *Engliſh* hoſt, which had the like aduantage of ground alſo. After ſome pauſe the armies on both ſides deſcended one towards the other.

At the firſt incounter the *Engliſhmen* of purpoſe giuing ground, the *Scottes* purſued them ſo egarlie, as that by recouering their former aduantage they did beate them downe-right before them, ſo that what in fight and ſlight the ſlaughter was very great. For beſides their generall, three valiant Gentlemen the Sonnes of *Walter Steward* (Vncles to him that ſucceeded the *Brufian* linage in *Scotland*) the Earles of

of *Rosse*, *Southerland*, and *Carrike*; *Andrewe*, *James*, and *Simon Fraſter*, all well neere of the better fort, to the number of aboue foure hundred, were ſlaine in the battaile, but of the common ſouldiers not ſo fewe as fourteene thouſand. This bloudie battaile was fought at *Halidon* hill beſides *Berwike* on *Mary Magdalines* day in the yeare of our Lord 1333. Immediatly vpon this ouerthrowe, *Alexander Seaton* and *Patrike Dum-*  
*bar* deſpayring of any ſuccour, yeelded vp the towne and Cattle to king *Edward*, life and goods only reſerued, and binding themſelues by oth thence-forth to become his true ſubiects. *Patrike Dūbar* was further inioyned to re-edifie the Caſtell of *Dumbar* at his owne charge, hauing late-  
lie before throwne it downe, becauſe hee was vnable to defend it againſt the *Engliſhmen* readie to aſſault the ſame. VVhat credit is here to be giuen to *Heſtor Boetius*, charging King *Edward* to haue vniuſtlic executed two Sonnes of Sir *Alexander Seaton*, the one a pledge, the other a priſonner, becauſe hee would not yeelde vp the towne at the approach of the gouernour? I leaue it to the conſideration of the indiffe-  
rent reader. For mine owne part I cannot but hold him much ſuſpected, his report alone carrying ſo little ſhowe of truth, for as it ſeemeth by the *Scottiſh Cronicle*, *Patrike Dumbar* had as great a commaunde in *Berwike* as the other, whoſe conſent alone could not haue effected

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1333.

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King *Edwards* desire, so as hee might haue laied the fault vpon his companion and fellowe Commissioner in the gouernment of the towne, and thereby haue iustly excused himselfe, neither surely would hee haue brooked so great an iniurie at the kings hands, much lesse euer haue acknowledged, and continewd his sworne allegiance vnto him, if hee had had the least sparke of that spirit, wherewith *Buchanan* feyneth his wife to be possessed vpon that occasion. The King of *England* after this his first and fortunate battaile in *Scotland*, leauing sufficient forces behinde him with the Lord *Richard Tailbote*, wherewith to aide *Balliol* in the pursute of this warre, returned home-wards. *Balliol* being thus strengthened, passed at his pleasure thorough *Scotland*, placing *Englishmen* and others his partakers, in garrison in the greater number of the Castells & fortresses of that Realme; and in a Parliament called at *Perthe* in September following, hee was further confirmed King of *Scotland*: diuerse of the *Scottish* Nobility there assembled binding themselues by othes to continew his loyall and faithfull subiects. Hereat hee repealed all such actes and graunts, which *Robert Bruce* late King of *Scotland* had ratified, for the disposing of the Lands, and possessions of sundry *Scottish* Lords at his pleasure, which were now restored to their former possessors, acknowledging their allegiance and homages vnto him for the same.

After

After the purification of the Virgine *Mary* King *Edward* repayred to *Torke*, where *Balliol* by appoyntment should haue met him to haue don homage and fealty vnto him, but because he feared to be surprised in his passage by his aduersaries, hee sent his excuse by the Lord *Henry Beaumont*, and the Lord *William de Montaigne*. The king therefore passing further Northwards, held his VVhitsonride at *Newcastell* vpon *Tine* with great royaltie, whether the *Scottish* king repayred, and there did homage vnto king *Edward* for the Realme of *Scotland*, and also sweare fealtie vnto him, as to the superior Lord ouer the same, acknowledging to hold that Realme of him, his heires and successors for euer. At this meeting *Balliol* freelic gaue to king *Edward* the Castells and townes of *Berwike*, *Roxbrugh*, *Peplies*, *Dunfries*, *Hadingtone* and *Gedworthe*, with the forestes of *Silkerke* and *Etherike*, so as all the premises should bee thence-forth cleerelic seperated from the Crowne of *Scotland*, and annexed to the Crowne of *England*: all this was then firmly ratified and assured by oth, writing, and witnesse in the yeare. 1334. King *Edward* being departed homewards, *Balliol* was still set on worke by them of the *Brusian* faction, in whose hands still remayned sundry strong Castells and fortifications, as *Dunbritanie*, *Lochlewin*, *Keldromie*, *Vrquhart*, and the stronge pile of *Lowdone*, so that as oportunitie serued, one or

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1334.

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other still reuolted from his obedience: but at the approach of King *Edward* the next winter (who was alwaies ready to relieue him in his extremities) the country was well appeased, and so committed to the keeping of *David Cumine* Earle of *Atholl*, while *Balliol* in the meane time accompanied the king into *England*. This Earle was so egerly pursued shortly after their departure by the aduerse party, that in the end hee was forced to reuolt from the *English*. VVherevpon new sturres begā againe to arise, especially thorough the prouocation of the Earle of *Murrey* and *Robert Steward*, the principall men of the *Brusian* side. For the suppressing hereof king *Edward* made his third voyage into *Scotland* the Summer following, in the yeare 1335. His nauy at this time also (for in his former iorney's thither hee was euer as well prouided by sea as by land) consisted of some hundred and fifty saile, well replenished with men, munition, and victualls. By land he was accompanied with *Balliol*, and his brother the Earle of *Cornewall*, diuerse great Lords attending vpon them. Being entred into *Scotland* they deuided themselues sometimes into two, sometimes into three seuerall companies, in which manner they passed at their pleasure without resistance, as well beyond the *Scottish* fourth, as on this side the same. In the meane time the Earle of *Athol* repaired to the king, submitting himselfe againe to his obedience, by whose example diuers

diuers other did the like, but this Earle was shortly after slaine at the sledge of the Castell of *Keldromie*. At the approach of winter king *Edward* with-drew himselfe to *Newcastel*, where hee kept the feast of the Natiuity of our Lord. Immediately after the *Epiphany* hee prepared to haue passed againe into *Scotland*, especially to take reuenge for the death of the Earle of *Atholl*, but in the meane time a truce was taken, by mediation of the *French* king and the Pope which indured till the twenty seauenth of March 1336. In the meane season a Parliament was appointed to be held at *London*, wherein a finall accord betweene the two nations should haue beene treated of, and the kingdome of *Scotland* establihed: VVhere the right which these two *Scottish* kings pretended, should haue appeared most forcible. VVhile this good course was intended and fully agreed vpon on all sides, the Lord *Maurice de Murrey* slewe Sir *Geffery de Ros* a *Scottish* knight, and Sheriffe of *Aire* and *Leuarke*, one of *Balliol* his partakers, because in time of warre hee had before slaine his brother. By reason of this presumptuous part, and the frowardnesse of the *Scottes* on both sides, still seeking reuenge one of the other, this treatie tooke no effect. The next Sommer about *VVhitsontide* the king sent an army into *Scotland* vnder the conduct of *Balliol* and diuers *English* Lords, who finding the towne of *Saint Johns* defaced by the enemies (not able  
of.

1336.



of themselves to hold it, caused the same to be fortified at the charge of sixe of the next monasteries vnto it. King *Edward* about this time was at a Parliament holden at *Northampton*, where leauing his Lordes and the rest to treat of such matters, as were propounded amongst them, hee posted into the North partes: coming to *Berwike*, from thence with a slender attendance hee arriued at *Saint Johns* towne, before any man there had heard of his intention. Here hee found *Balliol* and the rest of his companie. From hence the King passed forwards with some part of his army, as farre as *Elgen* in *Murrey-land*, thence to *Inuerneffe*, much further into *Scotland* then euer the King his grandfather had done before. In the meane time the Earle of *Cornewall*, with the power of *Yorke-shire* and *Northumberland* men, and the Lord *Anthony Lucie* with those of *Westmerland* & *Comberland*, entred into *Scotland*, wasted and spoyled the VVest partes, as *Carrick* and others which obeyed not *Balliol*. The Lord *Dowglasse* by coasting the *Englishmen* did his best to hinder their course. At length this armie hauing done what harme it could, was sent home, with great prey and bootie, but the Earle of *Cornewall* with his owne people came thorow to *Saint Johns* towne where he found the king returned from beyond the Mountaines. Here some of the *Scottish* writers charge the King to haue slaine this Earle his brother,

brother, for committing ouer great cruelty vpon the desolate *Scottes* in this his last iorney, especially against the men of Religion: it may be that the King was touched with a Christian compassion ouer the pore afflicted cōmonalty, who cōmonly smart most for the obstinacy of the mightier mē. But for any violence vsed by the king towards his brother, it is so far from any colour of truth, that euen the better sort of their own writers haue suppressed that report, as a vaine and meere forgery. For it wel appeareth by our own writers that this Earle died there of a natural disease, & his body was brought to *England* & interred at *Westminster* with all solemnity therto belonging. The king wholly spent these 2. last years in establishing of *Balliol* in the kingdō of *Scotland* because he was desirous to make all sure on that side, whilest he followed his wars in *France*, whereon now hee began to set al his thoughts. At his departure out of *Scotland* some-what before the natiuity of our Lord, *Balliol* withal his partakers bound themselues by an especial law, that whensoever, he, his heires and successors kings of *Eng.* should make war, either at home or abroad, they & their heires should at their own charge, for one whole yeare furnish him with 3. hundred horsemen & one thousand foot-men wel apointed for seruice. Shortly after the kings returne home, war was proclaimed with *France*, and all things forth-with were in preparing for that iorneye.

The



The next yeare the warre in *Scotland* proceeded with equall losse and disaduantage on both sides. towards the end of the same yeare, the king sent thither an army of soine twenty thousand men, vnder the leading of the new created Earles of *Salisbury*, *Glocester*, and *Derbie*, and of as many Barones, *Percy*, *Neuille*, and *Stafford*. These besiedged the castell of *Dumbar*, but to their small aduantage and lesse credit. For hauing continewed the sledge about twenty weekes; vnder the colour of a truce, before it was distressed, they gaue it ouer, being more desirous to attend the king their maister into *France*, where there was more good to be done: *Scotland* then affording nothing but hunger and blowes, beare them of as they could. About the middest of Iune in the

1338. yeare of our Lord 1338. the king of *England* together with the Queene, the Prince of *Walles*, & a great number of the Nobility that did attend them, passed ouer into *Flanders*, and were ioyfullie entertayned of the Duke of *Brabant*, and others the Lords of the Empire his confederates, towards the attayning of the crowne of *France*, which he claimed as the next heire therevnto by Queene *Isabel* his mother, Daughter to *Philip* surnamed the faire. This quarrell happned well for *Bruse*, for (no doubt) if king *Edward* had a while longer pursued the conquest of *Scotland* hee had now easilie brought the same vnder his soueraigntie. *France* would haue offred him such conditions

ditions of peace, by reason of his title thereunto, as that if he had beene disposed, he might quietly haue enioyed the Realme of *Scotland* both from *Bruse* and *Balliol*, and withall greater possessions within the *French* dominions, then the kings of *England* after him should haue happely beene able to haue held long, as the experience of the times following plainly showed: in respect of which difficulty, I esteeme the realme of *Scotland* a more conuenient and fit member of the Crowne of *England*, then the one halfe of *France*, how farre soeuer exceeding the other in wealth and magnificence. The *French* king now perceauing it was not king *Edwards* meaning, to accept of peace, vpon any reasonable conditions, and how much it stood him vpon to hinder his attemptes, thought it would bee no small aduantage vnto him, to keepe his enemy occupied nearer home, and therefore as soone as the King was arriued in *Flanders*, hee sent fīue tall shippes into *Scotland*, furnished with men munition and armour, and conducted by as many experienced Captaines ouer them. These stood that nation in great steede. For by such aide, as was at this time and shortly afterwards sent thither out of *France*, in the behalfe of *Bruse* his party, they so much preuailed, as that within the space of three yeares after (though not without some difficulty) they not onely chased *Balliol*, together with all the  
*English*



*Englishmen* out of *Scotland*, but also put King *Bruse* into peacable possession thereof againe, nine yeares after he had beene driuen out of his kingdome by *Baltiol* and his partakers the *Englishmen*. So as King *Edward* in the meane time, got not so much on the other side of the sea, as hee lost euen at his owne doores at home. King *Dauid Bruse* hauing thus beyond all hope recovered his kingdome, slackt no time (while opportunity serued) to take reuenge on the *Englishmen* for all the wrongs sustayned by them. To which end, within the first three yeares after his returne, hee made three iourneyes into the land, doing what harme he could to the coutries bordering vpon *Scotland*, but all was of no great reckning. The *French King* in the meane season hauing receiued many shrowd blowes of the *Englishmen*, and his strong towne of *Callice* beeing now besiedged, thought with himselfe, that there was no better way either happilie to remoue them, or at the least to lessen their number: then by procureing the *Scottish King* (who rested wholie at his deuotion) with some mighty power to inuade *England*, whereof hee sent Ambassadours into *Scotland* who easely obtained that fauour of King *Dauid*. VVhen all things were prepared for so great an exploite, hee entred the Realme with the whole power of *Scotland*, hoping assuredly now in the Kings absence to atchiue some notable victorie, as well  
to

to the enriching of himselfe as to the advantage of his confederate the *French King*. At his first entry hee made manie knights, whereby to encourage them the more to shewe their valiancie, but amongst the rest for his former good service he created *William Dowglas* an Earle, whose Father was slaine at *Halidone hill*, as is aforesayd. The number of Noble men and Gentlemen assembled at this time, by the confession of their owne writers, were verie neere two thousand; in the whole (as some write) three-score thousand. Within ten daies after their entrie they approached *Durham*, committing whatsoeuer stood in their way to the fury of fire and sword in most hostile manner. The Queene of *England*, being then returned home, to repressse the insolency of the enemy, gathered together such forces as the Realme could then redily afford, to the number of twelue hundred men of armes, three thousand Archers and some seauen thousand other, of whome a great part were *Prestes and Prelates*, but good talle trencher-men such as were not afraide of a crackt crowne though they had no haire to hide those hurtes withall. This army was ordered in this manner. The first battaile was lead by the Bishoppe of *Durham*, *Gilbert de Vmfree ville* earle of *Anegos*, *Henry Lord Percy*, and the Lord *Scroope*. The second by the Archbishoppe of *Yorke* and the Lord *Ralph Neville*. The third by the Bishoppe.



Bishop of *Lincolne*, *John Lord Moubraie*, and the Lord *Thomas de Rooksbie*. The fourth and last was lead by *Edward Balliol*, (nowe of a king of *Scotland*, become gouernour of *Berwike*) the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the Lord *Ross*. Besides this the Lord *Deain-court*, *Robert de Ogle* and some other attended vpon the Queenes person. On the the other side the first battaile of the *Scottes* was gouerned by *Robert Steward* the Sonne of *Margery King Davids* Sister, that succeeded him, and *Patrike Dumbar* Earle of *March*. The second by *John* Earle of *Murrey*, and *William* Earle *Dowglas*. In the third the King himselfe and his Nobility were placed. Before the battaile, the Queene of *England* sent an *Harald* of armes to King *David*, requiring him to stay from further anoying the Realme, till some reasonable order might be taken for the conclusion of a finall peace betweene the two nations: but hee made light reckning of her request. In the morning earlie before the fight, *Dowglas* issued fourth with certaine troopes of horse-men to discover the behauiour of the *Englishmen*, and vpon good occasion offred to skirmish with them. But the *Englishmen* so behaued themselues as that the Earle hardly escaped by flight with the losse of fiae hundred of his company. The two armies being come within sight one of the other, *David Graham* with a wing of fiae hundred horse, gaue a full charge vpon the skert of the

*English*

English Archers, hoping thereby to haue distressed them. But he was so sharply repulsed, as that loosing many of his troopes, hee had much adoe to recouer the maine battaile againe. Notwithstanding these two foule foyles, they presumed so much vpon their aduantage in number, that forth with they fiercely rushed vpon the *Englishmen*. The fight begun about nine of the clocke, and continued till noone, at what time God gaue the victory to the *Englishmen*. The *Scottish* writers attribute the losse of this battaile to the vnadvised retraite of the Earle of *March*, and *Robert Steward*; but where-so-euer the fault was, an exceeding great number of them was slaine. Of Noblemen the Earle of *Murrey*, the Earle of *Stratherne*, the Constable, Marshall, Chamberlaine, and Chancellor of *Scotland* were the principall men. Together with King *David* ( who fighting most couragiously, was sore wounded before he would yeeld himselfe ) were taken prisoners, the Earles of *Dowglas*, *Fife*, *Southerland*, *Wigton*, and *Menteith*. This battaile was fought neere *Durham*, at a place called *Neuils-crosse*, on the xvii. day of October in the yeare 1346. The *English* armie following their good fortune, forthwith passed into *Scotland*, tooke the Castels of *Roxbrough* and *Hermitage*, and without resistance ouer-ran the countries of *Anuandale*, *Galloway*, *Mers*, *Tinidale*, and *Ethrike* forrest, extending their Marches at that time, to *Cockburne*,  
N Peth,



*Peshe*, and *Sowtraie-hedge*. King *David* was shortly after conuayed to *Calice*, and presented to the King of *England*, then lying at the siege thereof, who bestowed on Maister *Copland* ( that tooke him prisoner with the losse of two of his teeth at a blowe that the King gaue him ) five hundred pounds land by the yeare of inheritance. The yeare following *Balliol* with the Earle of *Northumberland*, made a roade together into *Lowthian* and *Clidfsdale*, carrying from thence into *Galloway* a great bootie, where *Balliol* remained a long time after. By reason of this great slaughter now of the *Scottes*, as also thorow an out-ragious mortalitie, that followed the same by a generall infection of the Pestilence amongst them, they were not able of many yeares after to shew them-selues againe in the field. Neuerthelesse they ceased not in the meane time vpon private quarrels, after their vnechristian manner, to prosecute one another euen vnto death: About this time King *John* of *France*, vpon the death of *Philip* his Father, did inherite together with his Crowne, those troubles which then accompanied the same; who, to the end hee might thereby keepe the King of *England* occupied at home, ( for hee was his ouerthwart neighbour in *France* ) sent certaine bands of *French-men* into *Scotland*, vnder the leading of an expert Captaine *Sir Eugeny de Garentiers*, of whome the *Scottish* Nobilitie receiued ( as a present

present from the King their Maister) forty thousand Crownes of the Sunne, to bee imployde about the leuying and furnishing of some preparation against *England*. This Gentleman prevailed so much with his faire words and franke promises, as that amongst other fauours, hee obtained thus much at their hands: that they would come to no agreement with *England* without the allowance of his Maister. Immediately here-vpon, while the *Englismen* were busily employed in *France* about the conquest thereof, the *Scottes* together with the ayde of the *Frenchmen*, made some light incursions with-in the *English* Marches, some-what to their aduantage.

The same yeare, viz. 1355. on the sixt of No-  
 1355.  
 uember in the night, they priuile approched the Towne of *Berwicke*, and being come to the walles, before they were discouered, they raised vp Ladders in such silence, as that before day they entred and tooke the Towne, but not without the losse of diuerse principall men amongst them, namely, *Thomas Vaus*, *Andrew Scotte*, *John Gordon*, *William Siencelere*, *Thomas Preston*, and *Alexander Mowbraye*, Knights. Of the *English* Armie were also slaine *Alexander Ogle* Captaine of the Towne, *Thomas Percie* Brother to the Earle of *Northumberland*, and *Edward Graye*. But the Castell was so well defended by those with-in it, as that



it did abide the coming of king *Edward* to the succour thereof, at whose approach the *Scottes* knowing themselves vnable to withstand his puissance, rased the towne walles, set the houses on fire, and so brake vp the siege, which had continued ten weekes, making as much hast home as they could. The King hauing taken order for the repaire of the towne, passed on with his armie to *Roxbrugh*, whether *Balliol* repairing, resigned ouer vnto him, all his right, title, and interest vnto the crowne of *Scotland*, for more assurance thereof, an instrument was drawne in writing, signed, sealed, and delivered by him vnto king *Edward*, bearing date the five and twentieth day of *January*. This businesse being dispatched, the King marched forward with his Armie till hee came to *Haddington*, burning and spoiling the country as he passed: while hee was thus busied by land, daily expecting the arriual of his Navy, such a cruell tempest arose out of the North, that manie of his ships perished there-with, and the rest were disperied in such maner that they could not readily bee brought againe together. By this occasion the King could not for want of victualls and other necessities proceed any further at this time in his intended iourney, who had purposed now to haue quieted that countrie for many yeares after. At his returne hee brought *Balliol* with him into *England*, thinking that countrie would haue beene better

appealed

appeased thereby. Hee was no sooner departed out of *Scotland*, but immediatly some busie spirits began to raise vp new troubles, chasing out such as king *Edward* had left behind him in *Galloway* and *Annandale*. And yet more to despight him withall, the two *Douglasses*, Earle *William*, and the Lord *Archibald*, carrying ouer with them some three thousand *Scottes*, ioyned with the *French King* against the *Englishmen* on that side the sea: but they had better haue rarryed at home, for at the battaile of *Poytiers*, the yeare following (wherein the *French King* was taken prisoner by the most valiant champion *Edward Prince of Wales*) *Andrew Steward*, *Robert Gordone*, *Andrew Haliburton* and *Andrew Vaus* Knights, with diuerse other their countrymen were slaine: the Earle escaped, but his cousine *Archibald* was taken prisoner.

The yeare next following, viz. 1357. vpon the conclusion of peace betweene *England* and *France*, at the earnest entreatie of the *Scottish Queene*, King *Edwards* sister, her husband was set at libertie, and the kingdome of *Scotland* restored vnto him, which now rested at the disposition of king *Edward*, hauing good oportunitie vpon this aduantage, to haue made himselfe if hee had list, absolute king ouer the whole Iland. But I cannot tell what hee would haue done if the *Queene* his Sister had dyed,



during her husbands captivity, as she did within  
a while after. King *David* gaue for his ranfome  
an hundred thousand markes sterling and daies  
were appointed for the payment thereof. Also he  
covenanted to demolish certaine Castells borde-  
ring vpon *England*, that might proue bad Neigh-  
bours vnto it, which was performed according-  
ly. Moreouer it seemeth by that which followed,  
that he had also promised King *Edward* to make  
him his heire to the Crowne of *Scotland*, beeing  
now without hope of any issue of his body. For  
about seauen years before his death, he propoun-  
ded such a questiō to his Nobility assembled for  
that purpose, but the king found them so vnwil-  
ling to harkē vnto it, that he prosecuted the mat-  
ter no further. But I am perswaded, if King *Ed-  
ward* had not cōceiued some such hope, he would  
not so lightly haue laied of his hands, now ha-  
uing the prey (as it were) in his pawes. Much  
kindes passed betweene these two Kings, while  
they liued together, for the space of twelue years  
after, the remainder of King *David's* daies. For  
such was the curtsie and friendly behauiour of  
*Edward* towards the two captiue Kings of *France*  
and *Scotland*, while they remained together in  
*England*, as that thereby hee won their loue and  
faior for euer after, as appeared by their repaire  
hither to visit the King and Queene, and to re-  
create and solace themselves in their company.

quintub

N

And

And thus it came to passe, that their captiui-  
tie here, turned more to their owne aduantage,  
and the peaciable enioying of their estates after  
the same, then if it had neuer hapned vnto them.  
King *David* beeing dead without issue of his  
bodie, *Robert Steward* his Sisters Sonne by the  
Generall consent of all the estates was crowned  
King of *Scotland*, in the yeare of our Lord.  
1370. Here ended the posterity of *Malcolm Cam-*  
*more* in the *Masculine* line, which had continewd  
two hundred threescore and eightene yeares,  
and was transferred to an other ancient house  
of the *Scottish* Nation, which in the beginning  
of the raigne of this King *Malcolm*, tooke the  
surname *Steward* on them, vpon the office which  
their auncestour their bare, as before I haue  
touched, and this family hath euer since borne  
the Crowne of *Scotland*, euen vnto this day. The  
league, which was before made with his Vncle  
the deceased King, was now renewed for foure-  
teene yeares.

1370.

note:

But immediatly vpon the Coronation of  
King *Richard* the second, Sonne to that valiant  
Prince surnamed *Blacke*; both the Father and  
grand-father beeing dead, in the yeare of our  
Lord 1377. King *Robert* was so earnestly labo-  
red by Ambassadours out of *France*, to make  
warre vpon *England* (thereby to purchase vnto  
King *Charles* their Maister the more quietnesse  
at home) that forth-with preparation was

1377.



made to put his desire in execution. And first vnder a colour of taking reuenge on the *English* borderers, for the death of a seruant of *George Earle of Dunbarre*, that by occasion of some drunken fraye the yeare before, was slaine at *Roxburgh faire*: the said Earle, together with his brother the Earle of *Murrey*, gathering a powre, came secretly to the towne the next *Fayre-day*, slew all the *Englishmen* they found thereat, carried away their goods, and set the towne on fire: vpon this outrageous demeanour of these *Scotts*, *Henry Percie Earle of Northumberland*, entred into *Scotland* with ten thousand men, and tooke sufficient reuenge on the Earle of *Marche*, and others the chiefe authors of the former fact. Amongst the rest, *Sir John Gordon* tooke himsele much iniured by this inuasion, who therefore making a road into *England*, got together a great bootie. In his returne home-ward, he was set vpon by the *Englishmen*, but after a long fight, they were finally discomfited, and their Captaine *Sir John Lylborne*, with his brother and diuers other were taken prisoners, and carried into *Scotland*. *Sir John Gordon* was so encouraged here-with, as that shortly after, he together with *Sir Alexander Ramsay*, and fortie other chosen men, fittest to enterprise such a difficultie, about the latter end of *November*, in the dead time of the night, being come to *Berwicke*, and hauing mounted the walles, slew the watch-men while they were sleeping,

sleeping, and thereby became Maisters of the Castell, Sir *Robert Boyntone* Constable thereof, and such as were with him being ouer-few vpon that disaduantage, to repulse the enemy, were all slaine in their owne defence. Not-with-standing they permitted his wife, children, and some fewe of their seruants to depart, on condition that within three weekes after, they should eyther send for their ransome three thousand Markes, or else yeeld their bodies againe. The next morning the *Scottes* issuing out of the Castell, before it was knowne what was hapned, brought with them into it a droue of Cattle which were pasturing there-about. The Earle of *Northumberland* being aduertised hereof, hasted thither, with foure hundred men well appointed, by whome the Castell was againe recovered by force within two houres, nine dayes after the taking of the same. The *Scottes* were all slaine by the assailiants, either in the defence of the Castle or of their persons after they were entred, *Alexander Ramsfey* onely excepted, whom they reserued, by his libertie to redeeme the ransome promised before to the *Scottes*, for the wife and childre of Captaine *Boyntone*. These things thus passed in the yeare 1378. The pestilence so afflicted 1378. the North parts of *England* all the summer following, as that a great part of those countries lay well neere desolate, not-with-standing the *Scotts* ceased not daily to make roades into the land, catching



catching vp and carrying away what-so euer  
 came into their greedy clawes, so as the very  
 heards of swine (where-with before they would  
 neuer deale) were now accounted a good booty.  
 Further the Earle *Dowglaſſe* with some twentie  
 thousand *Scots*, entred into *Penner* on the Faire  
 day, sacked the towne, and then set it on fire, but  
 the people ſaued themſelues by running away.  
 The *Scots* paide very deare for thoſe commodi-  
 ties. For there-with all they carried home with  
 them an infection of the plague, whereof in the  
 two years next following ſo great a number died  
 (being ſpred well nere ouer the whole land) as  
 the like was neuer before knowne in *Scotland*. In  
 further reuenge of this our rage committed at  
*Penner*, the *Engliſhmen* ſhortly after entred into  
*Scotland* ouer *Suſway*, putting all to the ſword  
 that made reſiſtance, and hauing gotten a great  
 booty together, in their returne they lodged in a  
 ſtrait valley neere to the confines of *England*,  
 which aduantage being eſpied by the *Scots* that  
 purſued them, they ſuddenly in the night fell vp-  
 on them, ſlew a great number, and put the reſt to  
 flight, and ſo recovered their goods againe while  
 in the meane ſeaſon the warre continued very  
 hotely by land and ſea, betweene *England* and  
*France*, *Iohn Duke of Lancaſter* (the kings Vncle)  
 laboured a peace with the *Scots*, which was con-  
 cluded to indure three yeares. The truce expired  
*Archibald Dowglaſſe*, together with the Earles *Dow-*  
*glaſſe*

glasse and Dunbar, vnderstanding that the Castell of *Lochemaben* was vnprouided of men and victuals, necessary for the defence thereof, so sharplie assailed the same, as that the Captaine thereof *Sir William Featherstone*, hauing in the meane time receiued no ayde out of *England*, as hee expected, vpon knowledge giuen to the wardens of the *English* Marches, in what state it stood, at the end of eight daies (according to composition) hee surrendered the Castle into their possession, which incontinently was cast downe flatt to the ground. Herevpon the Baron of *Graystock*, with a new supply of men and victuals, was appointed to releue the Castle of *Roxbrough*, least it should be taken vnprouided as the former. But the Earle of *March* hauing gotten knowledge thereof, lay priuily in waite for the *Englishmen*, tooke the Baron prisoner, and caried him with his charge to *Dunbar*. The *Scots* about this time tooke also the Castle of *Warke*, and set it on fire. King *Richard* being not a little discontented with this their fortunate proceedings, sent the Duke of *Lancaster* with a great powre into *Scotland*, hauing now appeased his troubles at home, raised by the seditious rebels of *Northfolke* & other places, and also taken truce with *France*. But the army staid so long, where they were incamped within 3. miles of *Edenbrugh*, that when they came thither, they found nothing but bare walls, wherat the comon soldiors not a little repined. The *Scots* had caried  
their



their goods to the woods & mountaines, & such places of security, while the *Englishmen* in the meane time were greivouslie afflicted with vehement cold weather, and raine, that extraordinarily chanced, at that season (being about the tenth of Aprill) and the more, because before their comming to *Edenbrough* they had incamped themselves for their better safetie, in a lowe marish ground, which killed about 500. of their horses for service, and bred diseases amongst the souldiours. Neither had the *English* Nauie any better successe at this time, for the Marriners thorough want of good gouernment, ouer-boldly aduenturing to goe on land, for the desire of pillage and spoile, were in the end encountred by the *Scottes*, and so hotely pursued, as that a great number of them were slaine, and the rest hardly escaped to their shippes. The *English* Armie was no sooner out of *Scotland*, but that the Earle *Dowglasse* by his industrie and courage, presently recouered all the places of strength in *Tinidale*, out of the possession of the *Englishmen*, which till then they had held euer since the battaile besides *Durham*. All this summer season was spent with continuall roades, by the one nation and the other, to the small advantage of either. In the meane time messengers were sent to aduertise the *Scottes* of an abstinence of warre for a season, betweene the three nations, *France*, *England*, and *Scotland*, which  
was

was obserued on all sides. The truce ended, the Scots tooke by force the castell of *Barwicke*. But the Earle of *Northumberland* (to whom the keeping therof was committed, was thereby so much touched in credit, that presently gathering the power of those partes, he so egarly assailed the Scottes within it, as that they were constrained to come to composition with the Earle, and so for two thousand markes the Castell was surrendered & they departed. The yeare next following viz. 1385. Monsieur de *vian* Earle of *Valenti-*

1385.

nois admiral of the fleet, was sent by the French King into *Scotland*, with two hundred and fortie ships furnished with men, munition, & all things necessary pertayning to warre, they were some two thousand footemen, an hundred launces, & two hundred crosbowes, and pay for them for sixe monthes. Amongst other presentes which the French king sent to the Noblemen of *Scotland*, he bestowed on king *Robert* forty compleate armoures to bee disposed at his pleasure.

The Scottes being thus strengthened, prepared forth with to invade *England*. The whole army consisted of fiftie thousand men, ouer whom the Earle of *Fife* Sonne to king *Robert*, was made General, beeing accompanied with the Earles *Dowglas* and *Marche*, and diuerse other of the Scottish Nobility. At their first entrie they tooke the Castells of *Warke*, *Fouyd* and *Cornwall*, and ouer ran the Country, lieing betweene  
Berwike



*Berwicke* and *New-castle*. In the meane time king *Richard* had sent before him the Duke of *Lancaster* with a conuenient power, to restraine them from doing further harme, who hearing of the approach of the *Englishmen* withdrew themselues homeward. The King in the meane time making all the hast, that possiblie hee could after the Duke, entred together into *Scotland* passing thorow the countries of *Mer* and *Lothian* they burned and spoyled all the townes, villages and buildings that stood in their way as well religious as other.

At his comming to *Edenbrugh* finding the towne empty, hee set the houses on fier, which together with the Church of *Saint Gyles* were consumed to ashes. But at the earnest request of the Duke of *Lancaster* *Holi-roode* house was preserved for the great fauour the Duke had found there during the late commotion in *England*. King *Richard* hauing remayned about *Edenbrugh* five dayes, returned without proffer of battaile or any encounter to speake of. *Monsieur de vian* was very earnest with the *Scottish* Lords to haue aduentured a battaile, but being carried to the toppe of an hill, from whence he might discouer the order and puissance of the *English* armie, he changed his mind.

Herevpon they resolved to inuade *England* on another quarter, while the *Englishmen* tooke there pleasure in those partes passing therefore ouer

ouer the mountayns they entred into *Cumberland*, assaulted the Citty of *Carlisle*, but finding them-selues vnable to preuaile there they turned home-wardes, feareing least they should haue beene encountred with the *English* armie, which had salne out accordingly, if the King would haue beene aduised by the Duke his vncler.

But the Earle of *Oxford* ( who stood more in the Kings grace ) had put such a ielosie into his head, of the Dukes meaning therein towards him, as that he was drawne from liking of that course, and so tooke his way home-ward. The *Scottes* hauing on the other side donne what harme they could, returned likewise into *Scotland*, but because the same was not answerable to the damage they receaued, King *Robert* was so much offended with the *Frenchmen* (at whose hands he expected greater matters) as that he sent them home lighter laden then they came, by the wayght of all that was worth the takeing from them, in part of recompence for the losses sustayned in this iorney, which was vnder-taken at their earnest sute and entreaty.

Thus they parted not in soe good tearmes as they were entertayned with all at there arriual into *Scotland*. The *Scottish* wryters attribute the cause of these iarres and discontentments amongst them, to the lasciuious and imperious demeanour of the *Frenchmen* according



according to their vsuall manner, where-so-euer they serue out of their owne country, whereof the common people especially complayned, more then of any iniurie offered them by their professed enemies the *Englishmen*. The *Scottes* within two yeares after, vnderstanding what troubles were arising in *England*, thought it a fitt time wherein to bee reuenged for the damages lately sustained. Wherefore about the beginning of August, there assembled at *Iedworth* to the number of betweene thirtie and forty thousand. Heere they vnderstood by an *English* espyall whom they tooke, that the Earle of *Northumberland* intended to inuade *Scotland* on the one side, as they did the like here on the other. Therefore hauing a sufficient number to make two armies, they deuided themselves. The two yonger brothers ( the *Scottish* Kings sonnes, ) with the one part, directed their course by the West marches into *Cumberland*, marching as farre as *Durham*. At length, both these armies (hauing in the meane time done what harme they could) mette together about ten miles from *New-castell*, and passing thither they besiedged that towne. But the Earle of *Northumberland* (who then commanded all those countries) hauing had knowledge before of their purpose, had sent thither his two sonnes, the Lord *Henry* (surnamed *Hotespurre* for his egar manner of riding) and his brother *Ralphe*, two very forward Gentlemen.

These

These with the forces they carried with them, and those they found there so manfully defended the towne, as that the *Scottes* (being ten thousand choise men, taken out of the whole army to give the assault) were beaten backe, not without losse of many of their men. Amongst other feats of armes done at this assault (for it deserued not the name of a seidge) it fell out, that as the *Englishmen* defended the barriers without the gate, the *Dowglasse* chaunced to be matched hand to hand with the Lord *Henry*, and by force pulled his staffe from him, where-vpon in his returne, hoisting it vp on high, hee cried out that hee would carrie the same for his glorie into *Scotland*, with which conquest being (as it seemed) for the time satisfied, the next day the whole armie departed home-wardes as farre as *Otterbourne* about eight myles from *New-castle*. The two *Percies* the next morning with more courage then discretion (being as yet ouer few to incounter the enemye) issued out of the towne with such speed, as that they were vpon the *Scottes* before they were departed from their lodgings: neuerthelesse vpon some knowledge giuen them of the approach of the *Englishmen*, they were ready to receaue the at all assaies. The fight continued very hote on both sides for the space of so much of the day, as remayned after their meeting, and for the most part of the night following by moone-shine. The *Englishmen*



caused the *Scottes* to giue ground and withall won their standard. This being perceiued, *Patrike Hepbourne*, together with his Sonne and such forces as were ynder his charge from out of the one side, and the doughtie *Dowglas* from an other quarter with his men, so proudly assailed the *Englishmen*, as beeing not able to make resistance they were forced in the end to yelde, or saue themselves by flight.

1388.

This battaile was fought in the yeare 1388. The number of the *Englishmen* slaine (as *Hector Boetius* reporteth) were five hundred, not without some slaughter also of the *Scottes*, amongst whome the Earle *Dowglas* was of principall account, hauing receiued manie mortall wounds. The two *Percies* were taken prisoners in fight, with some other of good reckoning. But manie more were taken in their flight, for the *Scottes* pursued them so egarlie in the chase, as that two hundred of themselves aduenturing ouer farre, were taken prisoners by the *Englishmen*.

But *Buchanan* doth otherwise report this iorney, *Viz.* That after the *Scottes* had diuided themselves into two companies they met not againe, till after the battaile of *Otterbourne*, also that the Earle *Dowglas*, both at the same battaile, and also before at the assault of *Newcastell*, had not in his armie aboue three thousand men of all sortes, whereas the two *Percies* brought

brought with them to Otterbourne ten thousand choise men.

But herein he doth not onely disagree from the other *Scottish* writers, but also from himselfe. For (saith he) when the two armies parted, it was agreed vpon amongst them, that neither of them should attempt to encounter the *Englishmen*, vntill both the armies were met againe, each of them consisting (as some report) of fiftene thousand men a peece. And therefore it is most vnlikely that *Dowglas* contrary to his former appointment, & against all fence would aduenture to assault *Newcastell* with so few as hee speaketh of, or willinglie abide the comming of the *Percies*, against the liking of the greater number of his owne people (as hee reporteth). It is therefore more probable that when the two *Scottish* armies were met againe, according to their appointment, the Earle *Dowglas* (to whose onelie direction the rest referred themselues) making choise of the most able men amongst them, sent the residewe home-wards, with such spoyle as they had gotten in this iorney, vnder the conduct of the Earle of *Fife* and his brother, the rather because the King their Father was neither acquainted with this preparation into *England* (as beeing more inclined to peace then to warre) neither knewe hee that his Sonnes were amongst them. Amongst others that had



the *Englisbmen* in chase after this last conflict, it fell out that *James Lindsey* a *Scot*, hauing the aduantage of weapon and armour, tooke *Matthew Redman* (the *Gouernour* of *Berwike*) prisoner, whoe was presentlie dismissed vppon his oath, that within twenty daies after hee would yeeld him selfe prisoner againe vnto him. *James Lindsey* immediatelie returned towarde his companie, which (as hee tooke it) he had soone after in sight. But when hee was come so neare, that it auayled not to retire, he found them to bee a band of *Englisbmen* attending the *Bishoppe* of *Durham*. For the *Bishoppe* beeing come to *New-castle* to ioyne with the *Percies*, according to a former appointment, vnderstanding that they were the same daie gone to seeke the enemy, made but small hast after them, supposing (by reason of their weake attendance) that they would attempt nothing before his comming to their succour the next morning, but in their passage that night towarde *Otterburne*, the *Bishoppe* vnderstood by those that had escaped by flight, that the *Englisbmen* had alreadie fought with the *Scottes*, and were discomfited, wherevpon returning backe againe to the towne, hee incountred *Lindsey* thus alone. When *Captaine Redman* had espied his late acquaintance *James Lindsey* brought to *New-castell* as a captive, with all curtilie hee intertayned him, and  
vpon

vpon euen hands the one redeemed the others  
lybertie . In like manner vpon the returne of  
the *Scottes* home-wards , the younger brother  
of the *Percies* ( because by reason of his wounds  
hee was not able to take so great iorneyes ) ob-  
tayned libertie to returne to *Newcastell* for his  
speedier recoverye promising ; that when hee  
should bee better able to trauell, hee would at  
any time beeing called thereto , yeeld his bodie  
again . Vpon the same condition ( saith *Bu-  
chanane* ) were sixe hundred more at that time  
set at lybertie to go whether they would . This  
custome hath beene still continewd amongst  
the borderers of either Nation , wherein if any  
man brake his faithfull promise, the party victo-  
rer at the next day of truce signifieth the others  
default , which is reputed so great a disgrace vn-  
to his Captaine , as that his owne alliaunce and  
friends will for the same cast him off for euer.

The next yeare , while the commissioners  
of the three Nations , *England France & Scotland*  
were busied about a treatie of a permanent  
peace : the *Scottes* were so well fleshed with their  
booty gotten the last iorney, as that they entred  
again into *Northumberland*, burning and spoile-  
ing that Countrie on euerie side . Against  
these was the Lord *Thomas Mowbray* Earle  
of *Notingham* sent with five hundred speares,  
but hee preuailed little or nothing against  
them.



The *Scottish* Nobility tasted such sweetnesse in these two last roades into *England* as that they were vnwilling, (though their king was not against it) to yeeld consent to any conclusion of peace, wishing nothing more then the continuance of warre betweene *England* and *France* because they fared the better by it, but the matter was so earnestly labored by the *Frenchmen*, that with much adoe they accepted of peace, which was againe renewed after the death of king *Robert* of *Scotland* the yeare following, *Viz.*

1390. 1390. And continewd till king *Richard* was deposed, by his vnkinde cousine *Henrie Plantagenet*, Sonne to *John* of *Gaunt* Duke of *Lancaster*, in the yeare of our Lord 1399.

1399. But immediatlie after the coronation of king *Henrie* the fourth, while Sir *Thomas Gray*, Captaine of *warke* Castell, was at the Parliament, certaine *Scottes* assaulted and tooke it by force, but either dispayring to keepe it, or not dareing to auowe what they had done, (the truce still continewing) they leaft it defaced and ruinated.

Howsoever they excused this their rough beginning, it seemed by that which followed, that they had no great respect to the obseruance of peace, which had hitherto continewd vniuolated, for the tearme of ten yeares, but was shortlie after broken by them againe, vpon this occasion.

*George* of *Dumbar* Earle of the *Marches* of *Scotland* had betrothed his Daughter to the King his Maisters Sonne and heire, the Father not only consenting therevnto, but also receauing a good part of the marriage monie. This King was named *John*, but because the former two kings of *England* and *France* (so called) had such bad successe, hee tooke vpon him the name of *Robert*.

The Earle *Dowglas* taking indignation, that any other of that Nation, should bee herein preferred before him, and complayning that the consent of the *States* was to much neglected, in not beeing made acquainted with a matter of that importance, as appertayned therevnto: offred a Daughter of his owne with a greater portion. Hereof king *Robert* accepted, and forth-with made vp the marriage. *Dumbar* complayning of this wronge, demaunded the monie his king had receiued, but hee could not receiue so much as a kinde answere of him.

This double iniury done him by the *Dowglas*, both the losse of his monie and (which hee esteemed farre more) of the kinges fauour, did not a little trouble him. Therefore hauing no other meanes to bee hereof reuenged, hee leaft both Court and Country, and repaying into *England* complayned himselfe vnto *Henrie* the Earle of *Northumberland*



of whome he hoped to be relieued. In the meane time, the Earle *Dowglas* seized on the Castell of *Dunbar* in the King his Maisters name, which was committed to the custodie of *Robert Matland*, at the Earle of *March* his departure into *England*. *Northumberland* aduised him to returne into *Scotland*, and to make tryall if happily some other course might preuaile with his King, for the saluing of these his discontentments. But coming to *Dunbar*, the Earle *Dowglas* hauing fortified the Castell, would not admit him entrance, answering that hee kept it to the vse of the King, who had sent him thither to that end. The other Earle, seeing his greatest enemy so much to triumph ouer him, could not brooke it, but without making further meanes to the King, at whose hands he ought especially to haue sought for remedy, hee together with his wife, children, and allies, returned againe into *England*, informing the Earle of *Northumberland* of all the displeasures done vnto him by his aduersary the *Dowglas*, and withall desired him (seeing he could not otherwise preuaile) to aide him in the recoverye of his possessions by force, sithence by force they were kept against him. Herevpon followed some stirres by the rising of the borderers on both sides, who ioyning their forces together, did the *Dowglas* all the mischief they could. King *Robert* not a little moued here-with, did write to king *Henry*, that vlesse he would deliuer  
into

into his hands the fugitiue Earle, he would take it for a breach of the truce, and proceed against him accordingly. What answer soeuer king *Henry* made here-vnto, it deserued not so bitter a reprehension, as wher-with *Buchanan* doth check him. Impudency is a foule fault in a priuate man, much more in a Prince. I hold him of a very forward temper, that in his writings cannot afford a King his good words, although they shew sometimes dislike of their actions. King *Robert* vpon the returne of his messenger, caused open warre to be proclaimed, and Sir *William Logan* a *Scottish* Knight was forth-with sent to the Sea, of purpose to sett on the *English* fleete, that was then fishing on the coast of *Scotland* about *Aberden*. But hee was incountred with certaine ships of *Lin*, and by them taken prisoner. The Fisher-men vnderstanding what was intended against them, entring into some of the Iles of *Orkney*, carried away with them; whatsoeuer was worth their labour, and set the rest on fire. King *Henry* perceiuing what was to be looked for out of *Scotland*, thought it good in the beginning either to draw the *Scots* to peace, or to resist their malice, before further mischief should insue therof. And therefore hauing a great armie, hee there-with entred into *Scotland* about the middelt of August, being the eleuenth month from his coronation. From *Haddington* he passed to *Leeth*, vsing much clemencie in all places where he came, especially to the houses



houses of religion. Where-vpon diuers Castels & Houlds willingly submitted themselues vnto him. Comming to *Edenbrough*, he besiedged the Castle. Hither *Robert* Duke of *Albanie* gouernour of *Scotland* vnder the King his brother, (who by reason of his impotencie could not trauell in his person) sent an *Harald* of Armes vnto king *Henry*, promising to giue him battaile within fixe dayes at the furthest, if hee would stay so long. The King accepting the offer, gaue the messenger for his good newes a chaine of gold, and a Sattin gowne at his departure. But neither at the end of fixe or sixteene dayes heard he any more of the Gouernours comming. The *Scottish* writers attribute this dishonorable dealing to the Dukes ambition, whom it would not haue troubled, though the Castle had beene taken, together with the young Prince of *Scotland* in the same, that thereby hee might haue beene in so much the more hope of the crowne him-selfe, after which (it was thought) he greatly thirsted. But on the other side, they highly extoll the singular moderation of King *Henry*, who by this his gentle inuasion seemed rather desirous to allure them to peace, then to afflict them with the calamities alwayes accompaning warre. Winter approaching, the King brake vp the sledge, and returned home without any shew of resistance, greatly to the Gouernours reproach: neither shewing him-selfe desirous of warre, nor wil-

willing to offer conditions of peace, how apparent tokens soeuer was shewed by king *Henry* of his readinesse to haue accepted thereof. After some little harme done, the next Summer by the borderers on both sides, *Patrike Hepburne* with some greater powre, entred further into *England*: and hauing gotten a good bootie, and therewithall returning home-wards, hee was ouer-taken by the *Englishmen* at *Nesbet* in the *Meirs*, where their Captaine, together with the greater number of his people, well neere the very flowre of all the *Lothian* youth, were beaten downe and slaine in fight. Amongst those that were taken prisoners, *John* and *William Cockburne*, *Robert Lawder*, *John* and *Thomas Haliburton*, were the men of best account. This ouer-throw was giuen the *Scottes* on the xxii. day of Iune; in the yeare 1401. The Earle *Archibald Dowglas*, sonne to the other *Dowglas*, that was the great enimie to the Earle of *March*, his Country-man, who de ceased the yeare before, being much mooued with this ouer-throw, made great preparation against the next Summer, to lead an armie into *England*, there-with to take reuenge for the death of so many his good friends and countrey-men. But his successe was no better then theirs. For when his armie had done all the harme it could within the realme, as farre as *Newcastle*, & was returning homewards with an exceeding great prey, *Henry* (surnamed *Hotespurre*) that was taken prisoner at

the

1401.



the battaile of Otterburne, pursuing them with a power of the Northern men, and hauing ouertaken them, saluted there maine battaile with such a forcible flight of arrowes, that the same being much beaten and broken there-with, gaue waie to the *Englishmen* rushing in vpon it, and thereby gaue them an ouerthrowe, with verie little losse on their owne partie. Amongst the *Scottes* that were slaine, Sir *John Swintone*, Sir *Alexander Gordon*, Sir *John Leuystone*, Sir *Alexander Ramsey*, and some twentie knights more, were of speciall note. Besides the Earle *Douglas* generall of this army (who in fight lost one of his eyes) there were taken prisoners the Earle of *Fife*, the gouernours *Sonne*, *Thomas* and *George*, Earles of *Murrey* and *Angus*, and fife hundred more of meaner degree. This battaile was fought at *Hemildon* hil in *Northumberland*, on the seauenth of May, in the yeare 1402.

1492.

Whereat the *Scottes* receiued such a blowe, as for many yeares before the like had not happened. For hereat were slaine (one and other) not so fewe as ten thousand of them as our *Cronicles* report. The Lord *Percie* following his good fortune, forth-with entred into *Tynedale* wasting the Country on every side, and hauing layed siege to the Castell of *Cocklawis*, Sir *John Grenley* (the keeper thereof) couenanted with him to surrender it within three monthes, if the siege were not remoued, but by reason his  
men

men were in the meane time sent for, to followe the King into *Wales*, they could not tarie out the prefixed time. But this Noble race of the *Percies*, who in the beginning of this Kings raigne were his best friends, became now his greatest aduersaries, especially for two causes. First they tooke it in euill part, that the King demanded such prisoners as were latelie before taken at *Nesbet* and *Homildon*. For they had deliuered none into his hands, saue onelie *Mordike Earle of Fife*, the Duke of *Albaines Sonne*, accounting all the rest their peculiar prisoners. The other cause, and the more offense, was the imprisonment of *Edward Mortimer Earle of the English Marches*, their nearest Cousin, whome (as they reported) *Owen Glendar of Wailes*, kept in filthie prison, laden with manie irons, onelie because hee continewed faithfull to King *Richard* his Maister.

While King *Henrie* was therefore preparing an armie, where-with to passe againe into *Wales* (for hee had beene latelie there beefore) *Thomas Percie Earle of Worcester*, gaue secret intelligence thereof to his brother the Earle of *Northumberland*, who together with his Sonne the Lord *Henrie*, and the Earle *Douglas* his prisoner, with such aide as by his meanes, they could get out of *Scotland*, gathered a power of some foureteene thousand chosen men, of whome the greater number were *Cheshire* men,



men, and *Welshmen*, that were conducted by the Earle of *Worcester*, and the Lord *Henry*: the *Scottishmen* by *Douglas*. The Earle of *Northumberland* with his retinue stayed in the North, while the rest marched towards *Shrewsburie*, purposing to haue taken that towne. But the king (by the continuall calling on of the *Scottish* Earle of *March*, who tooke his part) made such speed, as that approaching the rebels sooner then they looked, that enterprise was preuented. When the two armies were mette, and euery man prepared to fight, the King offered them pardon vpon any reasonable conditions. But by the perswasion of the Earle of *Worcester*, (who from the beginning was the chiefe worker of all this mischief) there was no way but to trye it out by dint of sword. The *Scottes* (as some write) had the leading of the fore-ward on the *Percies* side, and intending to bee reuenged on the *Englishmen*, by the helpe of *Englishmen*, they so fiercely assailed the Kings partie, as that disordering their ranckes, they made them giue backe.

But amongst the rest, the Earle *Douglas* shewed himselfe that daye a most valiant man of Armes, for still aiming at the fayrest marke, hee strooke downe three that were apparrelled like the King, (because hee would not bee knowne from the rest) but whether hee light on him at all or not, hee bestowed on Sir *Walter Blunt* (one of

of that coate (such a deadly blow, that hee neuer arose againe. After the fight had continued three long houres with doubtfull victorie on eyther side, in the end the rebels were vanquished and put to flight. The Earle *Dowglas* falling vpon the cragge of a steepe mountaine, brake one of his genitalls, and was taken, whom the King freely forgaue, and set at liberty for his valiancie and notable courage.

This battaile was fought on *Mary Magdalines* euening, in the yeare 1403. whereat was flaine 1403. of the Kings partie sixteene hundred, of his enemies aboue fiae thousand. Though the Earle of *Northumberland* found such fauour, as that hee was pardoned, and restored to all his possessions, neuer the lesse within a yeare after hee entered into a new conspiracie, but when hee heard the same was discovered, and some of his confederates executed, hee together with the Lord *Bardolfe* fledde into *Scotland*, where they were entertained of *Dauid Lord Flemming*: in requitall of whose kindnesse hee gaue vp the towne of *Berwicke* (which was then in his custodie) vnto the vse of the *Scottish* King. But when the *Scots* vnderstood that King *Henry* approched with his armie, they fired the towne, and so left it: while these *English* Lords remained in *Scotland*, the king of *England* practised with some of the *Scottish* Nobilitie to apprehend them. But the Lord



Lord *Flemming* giuing them notice hereof, they both fledde into *Wales* to *Owin Glendouer* a great enimie to king *Henrie*. Such of the Lords of *Scotland* as had plotted the deliuerie of those fugitiue Lords, hauing gotten knowledge that they escaped their hands by meanes of the Lord *Flemming*, were there-with so much displeased as that it cost him his life.

This fact sowed great discention amongst them-selues, in such sort as one knew not how to trust another. Wherefore to auoide further mischiefe that was like to haue followed thereof, it was thought good to sue for a truce betweene the two Nations ( which was effected, ) and the same to indure for one whole yeare. King *Robert* of *Scotland*, being taught before by his brothers disloyaltie, that there was small trust to bee reposed in his owne subiects, the rather because they were so distrustfull one of another, tooke order for the conuoye of his other sonne ( beeing a childe not aboue nine yeares olde ) vnto King *Charles* of *France*, to receiue good education there.

But it fortun'd, that in his passage the Shippe was mette with-all by certaine *Englisbmen* at *Flambrough-head* in *Holderness*, about the latter end of March, who thinking it neither fit nor conuenient to suffer the same to passe any further, without making the King acquainted there-

there-with, the yong Prince with his traine were forth-with conuaied to the Court then at *Windsore*. The Child beeing brought to the Kings presence, presented vnto him a letter which the King his Father had giuen him, to the end that if by chance he should bee either taken at sea, or forced by tempest to take land on the coast of *England*, hee might thereby finde the more fauour with the King. The renure of which letter I haue here inserted, as I finde it in the history of *Scotland* written by *Hollinshed*.

Robert King of *Scottes* to Henry King of *England* greeting. Thy great magnificence humiliry and iustice are right present with vs, by the gouernance of thy last armie in *Scotland*, howbeit sic things had beene vncertaine to vs afore: for though thou seemed as an enemy, with most awefull incurfions in our Realme: Yet we found manie humilities and pleasures than damages by thy comming to our subditres. Speciallie to yame that receyuit thy Noblie Father, the Duke of *Longcastell*, in the time of his exile in *Scotland*. Wee may not ceys yairfore while wee are in life but aye luyes and loif the as maist Noble and Worthie Prince to ioys thy Realme. For yocht Realmes and Nations contend among themselues for conquestes of glorie and lands, zit na occasion is among vs to invade a thir Realmes or lieges with iniuries, bot euer to contend among our selues, quhay sall perfew  
 gnilch P othir



other with maist humanitie and kindnesse. As to vs wee will meis all occasion of battell quhare any occurs at thy pleasure. Forther bycause wee haue na lesse sollicitude in preseruing our Children fra certaine deidlie enemies, than had sometime thy Noble Father, wee ar constreined to seeke support at vncouth Princes hands. Howbeit, the inuasion of enemies is sa great, that small defence occurs against yame, without they bee preserued by amitie of Nobill men. For the world is sa full of peruersit malice, that na crueltie nor offence may bee deuist in erd, bot the same may bee wrocht be motion of gold and siluer. Herefore, bycause wee knawe thy hienesse full of mony nobill vertues, with sic pyssaunce and riches, that na Prince in our daies may bee compard thairto, wee desire thy humanitie and support at this time. VVee traist it is not vnkowne to thy Maiestie, how our eldest Sonne *David* is flaine miserably inprison by our brother the Duke of *Albaine*, quhome wee chesit to bee Gouvernour (quhan wee were fallen in decrepit age) to our subditts, and Realme, beseekand thy hyeness thairfore to bee sa fauorable, that this bearer *James* our second and allnerly Sonne may haue targe to life vnder thy faith and iustie, to bee some memorie of our posterity, knawand the vnstable condition of mans life sa sodainly altered, now flurifand and sodenlie falling

falling to vtter consumption , for thir beliefe well, quhan Kings and Princes hes na other beild bot in thair awin folkes , thair Empire is caduke and fragil . For the minde of common pepill ar euer flowaund and mair inconstant than wind. Zit quhen Princes ar roborate be amity of othir vncouth Kings thair brethir and Nieghbours, na aduersity may occurre to eiekt thaim fra thair dignity royall . Forthire gif thy hienesse thinke nocht expedient ( as God forbeid ) to obtemper to thir our desiers . Zit wee request ane thing quhilk was ratifiet in our last trewes and condition of peace, that the supplication made be ony of the two kings of *England & Scotland*, fall stand in manner of safe conduct to the bearer . And thus we desire to be obseruit to this our allnerly Son. And the gracious God conserue the maist Noble Prince.

The *Scottish* writers reporte , that when King *Robert* had knowledge of the staie of his Sonne in *England* in the nature of a prisoner, he tooke the matter so greeuouly , that being an aged sicklie man, and of long time oppressed with malancholie, hee died within three daies after.

There is some difference amongst the writers concerning the time when these things chaunced. *Harding* placeth these occurrêts in the year 1408. *Buchanan* chargeth king *Henrie* to haue dealt iniuriousslie , in detayning the young Prince,

1408.



Prince, not onely without respect had to the King his Fathers request, but also while the truce yet continewed betweene the two Nations, which (as hee saith) was lately taken for eight yeares. But I do not see how that can be proued, for in the *English* Chronicles I finde no truce agreed vpon since the battaile of *Homildon* but once, and that but for one yeare, in the seauenth yeare of King *Henries* raigne. Whereas it is manifest enough, that aboue a yeare before this, the Earle of *Northumberland* and the Lord *Bardolfe*, after they had bin in *Wales*, *Flaunders* and *France*, to haue purchased aide against King *Henry*, were returned into *Scotland*, and now not aboue fixe or seauen weekes before the arriual of the yong Prince in *England* were entred into the Realme with a power of *Scottes*, and comming into *Yorkshire*, were incountred and ouerthrowne by Sir *Thomas Rooksbie* then Sheriffe of the Shire, on the nineteenth day of Februarie in the yeare 1407. The Earle himselfe was slaine in the field, and the Lord *Bardolfe* sore wounded, as beeing taken, he died thereof shortly after. Hereby it appeareth, that either there was no truce at al at this time, or else the *Scottes* made small account thereof, taking part with the enemies of the land against their natural King, within his owne kingdom. Howsoeuer the Sonnes captiuitie did for the present trouble the sickly olde King his Father. The *Scottes* haue had no cause since to bee much

1407.

8041

much offended thereat. For (as it is confessed by themselves) King *Henrie* tooke so great care for his education, in all manner of discipline fit for his calling, as that Realme had neuer before a Prince furnished with more excellent qualities. No doubt King *Henrie* hereby sought in kindnesse to binde him and that Nation to a perpetuall acknowledgment of his singuler loue and fauor towards the one and the other. But as the sequell showed, the same was little or nothing regarded afterwards. The death of King *Robert* made no alteration in the state of gouernment in *Scotland*, with him died onely the title of king; for the other *Robert* his brother, the Duke of *Albaine* in manner as before, so still he inioyed the soueraigne command ouer that Nation. About this time, or not long before Sir *Robert Vnfreuille* high admirall of *England* burnt the towne of *Peples* on the market day; causing his men to make so good penie-worthes of the cloathes they got there, as that therevpon the *Scottes* called him *Robin mend-market*. In the meane season the Castell of *Iedworth* (which the *Englishmen* had held euer since the battaile at *Durham*) was taken by *Tynidale* men and throwne downe to the ground. Shortly after the Earle of *March* (who before at a Parliament was recommended by the commons of *England*, to the kings gracious consideration ouer his due demerites, for his good seruice done in the Realme) returned into



*Scotland*, and was restored to his former dignitie and possessions there. The *Scottes* thought themselves not sufficientlie reuenged for the markets, that *Sir Robert Vmfreulle* lately made of their goods in *England*, and therefore in the yeare following, *Patrike Dumbar*, second Sonne to the Earle of *March* with an hundred men well apoynted for the purpose, came earelie one morning, some-what before day, to *Fast Castell*, and entring into the same tooke the Captaine thereof prisoner, who by daily out-roades greatlie indamaged the Countrie next adioyning. About the same time *Gawin Dumbar* an other Sonne of the sayd Earle, together with *William Douglas*, brake downe the bridge of *Roxbrughe*, and set the towne on fire, but durst not attempt the taking of the Castell. *Sir Robert Vmfreulle* hauing by this time vitered all his merchandice by the measure of his mens long-bowes, for the worth of so manie yardes, thought it now high time to make a new aduenture, and therefore in the yeare 1410. Hee entred the *Furth* with tenne talle shippes of warre, where lying for the space of a fort-night togither, hee some-times landed on the one side, and some-times on the other, carying still with him manie good booties, not-with-standing that the *Gouernour* and the Earle *Douglas* were both readie to resist him. Hee burned the *Gal-  
liat of Scotland* (a Shippe of greatest account) with

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with manie other smaller vesselles lying then at the *Blacknesse* ouer against *Leeth*. At his returne into *England* hee brought with him foureteene good shippes with many commodities, as cloathes both wollen and linnen<sup>t</sup>, pitch, tarre, woad, flowre meale, wheate and rie, making as good pennie-worthes thereof as hee did before, as long as his store-house had anie thing leaft in it. But not satisfied here-with, hee together with his Nephewe young *Gilbert Vmfreville* Earle of *Angius* (but more commonlie called Lord of *Kinne*) entred the same yeare once againe into *Scotland* by land and spoiled the greater part of *Tyuidale*.

Thus it appeareth that at this time there was no peace betweene the two Nations, or else it was little respected on both sides. For manie yeares after there was little doeing beetweene them. But now approached the ende of this Noble Prince who deceasing in the fourth-teenth yeare of his raigne, in the yeare of our Lord 1412. leaft the Crowne vnto his Sonne *Henry*, Prince of *Wailles*, that was no lesse inheritour to his heroycall vertues then to the same. In the second yeare of his raigne it was propounded in Parliament, whether it were more meete to beginne with the conquest of *France* (wherevnto hee pretended a iust title) or first to reduce *Scotland* to their former obedience, for it was resolved that the

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one or other should forth-with be taken in hand. After long debate and consultation vpon this point, it was concluded that the warre should be commenced against the mightier enimie: for if *France* were once subdued, the *Scottes* were easily tamed, so that now they were at good leisure either to bee lookers on, or actors on which side it pleased them. Neuerthelesse whether it were that their *Gouernour* would not willingly incur *King Henries* displeasure, fearing least if he had stirred, hee would haue thrust him out of place, by sending the young King home, or whether that nation doubted, that by that occasion the king would haue beene prouoked to set in foote for himselfe, vnder colour of the defence of the young Prince his title, or else whatsoeuer it was that moued them therevnto, the *Scottes* made no great adoe during his raigne, though they were yet once againe prouoked by *Vnfreuille*, who being put in trust, at the Kings passage ouer into *France*, to gard the frontiers on that side, fought with them at *Gederling*, with three hundred Archers, and seauen score men of armes, where after long fight, he slue aboue three score of them, and tooke three hundred prisonere in chase, which was continued twelue miles, and then returned to *Roxbrough Castle*, whereof hee was Captaine. This conflict was on *Mary Magdalines* day, in the yeare 1414. Three yeares after, the *Scottes* made some shew of a purpose they had,

1414.

to

to performe some great exploit, but vpon the approach of the *English* armie, they with-drew them-selues homeward without doing any great hurt. But although they ceased from further annoyance here, yet being entertained by the *Dolphine* in *France*, they opposed themselves there against the *Englishmen*. The *Scottish* writers report, that seauen thousand of them passed ouer together vnder the conduct of *Iohn Earle of Buchquhan*, sonne to their Gouvernour, accompanied with *Archibald Dowglas*, and diuers other of good place. Vnto these men they do attribute the victory ouer the *Englishmen* at the battaile of *Baugie*, fought on Easter-euen, in the yeare 1421. 1421. where the Duke of *Clarence* the Kings brother, giuing too much credit to a *Lumbard*, vnaduidedly set vpon the *Frenchmen* and *Scottes*, and was slaine, together with diuerse other Noble-men of *England*, in the whole to the number of some two thousand. Of the aduerse party were also slaine aboue twelue hundred, the best men of warre amongst them. So as they had no great cause to boast of the victorie, how glorious so euer they make the same, affirming that for their good seruice at this time, the *Dolphin* bestowed great honours and offices vpon them. The *Scotts* being thus animated against King *Henry*, at his next iourney into *France* (and the last he made) he tooke with him the Prince of *Scotland*, to trie if happily they would be therby won either to his party,



party, or at least moued to returne home againe. But they so little regarded the matter, that being demanded why they would fight against their owne King, they answered; That they would not acknowledge any dutie to him, who as yet liued vnder the obedience of an other. Herewith (saith *Buthanan*) King *Henry* was so much displeased, that at the taking of *Meaux* in *Bury*, he caused 20. *Scots* to be executed, whom hee found there, because they had armed them-selues against their owne King. But I see not how it can be so, for the souldiours seeing themselues vnable to make resistance, abandoned the towne, and with-drawing their forces into the market place, fortified the same, which being afterwards surrendred vpon composition, the liues of poore men onely were excepted, namely bastard *Vauren* the Captaine of the towne, the Baily, & two Burgessees, all which vpon good consideration were immediatly executed, and no other. When this most victorious Prince had so wonderfully preuailed in his intended conquest of *France*, as that within the terme of fiue or sixe yeares, hee had brought the better part thereof vnder his obedience, it pleased the almighty God (the disposer of kingdoms) to take him from those earthly honours, to the fruition (I hope) of that endlesse and incomparable glory prepared for them that are his, from the Prince to the Peasant. He dyed in *France* in the 9. yeare

1422. of his raigne 1422. Hee left to succeed him his onely

only child Prince *Henry*, about as many months old as his father had raigned yeares. Whose infancie was neuerthelesse mightily supported, by the notable valiancie and policie of his two Vn-  
*cles* *Humfrey Duke of Glocester* and *John Duke of Bedford*, to the one was committed the protectiō of his person and kingdome, to the other the managing of the warre continued in *France*. The death of the two kings comming together, within two months one after the other, caused much alteration in the state, wherein that nation presently stood. For thervpon a great number of the *French* nobility, who before had taken part with the *Englishmē*, began to reuolt to *Charles the Dolphine*. The *Scotts* also became now more ready to assist him then before, thorow the hope they had of present aduancement, which thing within two yeares after cost many of their liues, first at the siege of *Crauant*, in the County of *Auxerre*, and in the yere following at the bloody battaile of *Vernoile*, fought on the 20. of August, in the yeare 1424. At the former conflict, besides 1800. Gentlemen of the *French* nation, there were slaine of the *Scotts* their partakers, the Lord of *Saint Johns towne*, *Sir John of Bulgary*, *S. John Turnbull*, *S. John Haliburton*, *Sir Robert Lisley*, *S. William Coningham*, *Sir William Dowglas*, *Sir Alexander Hume*, *S. William Lisly*, *Sir John Rotherford*, *S. William Crayford*, *S. Thomas Seaton*, *S. Willia Hamilton*, & his son *John Pillot*: the Earle *Buchquhan* maister of the *French* chiuallry, who in the fight lost his eie, was takē prisoner.

But



But at the battaile of *Vernoth*, of the *Scottes* were slaine *Archibald Earle Dowglas*, lately created by the *Dolphine Duke of Turaine*, *James Dowglas* his Sonne Earle of *Wigton*. *John Earle of Bowghen*, who (as it seemeth) had either escaped before out of the *Englishmens* hands, or else had redeemed his liberty, besides men of speciall note, about two thousand. In the meane time, (thorough dissention that arose betweene *Mordo* then the gouernour of *Scotland*, after the decease of the Duke of *Albaine* his Father and his vn-rulie Sonnes) certaine Ambassadors were sent from thence into *England* to treat for the deli-uery of Prince *James* of *Scotland*. This young Gentleman was then greatlie inamored ouer a beautifull Ladie, Sister to *John Duke of Somerset*, Neece to the Cardinall of *Winchester*, and to the Duke of *Excester*, and neere coufine to the yong King himselfe, it was hoped that thorowe the alliance hee should haue in *England* by this marriage, and the manifold fauours following the same: the Prince should haue beene wonne to a perpetuall amity with this Realme, which had beene now vnto him for the tearme of fifteene yeares, a verie sanctuarie for the safety of his person, and an Academie for the instruction of his minde and vnderstanding.

The Lord protector and the Nobilitie of the Land were heereby mooued, not onely vpon verie reasonable conditions to set him at liberty, but

but also to yeeld him the fruition of her loue, which happily the Prince preferred, or at the least equally ballanced with the same. Before his departre into *Scotland*, hee did homage to the young king of *England* at *Windsor* Castell, in the presence of three Dukes, the two Archbishops, twelue Earles, ten Bishops, twenty Barons, and two hundred Knights and Gentlemen, in these words, *viz.* I *James Steward* King of *Scots*, shall be true and faithfull to you Lord *Henry*, by the grace of God King of *England*, and to you I make my fidelity for the same kingdome of *Scotland*, which I hold and claime of you. And I shall beare you my faith and fidelitie of life and limme, and worldly honour against all men. And faithfully I shall doe to you seruice for the kingdome of *Scotland*. So God me helpe, &c.

This done, King *James* with his *Queen*, were honorably attended and accompanied into *Scotland*, in the yeare of grace 1423. But notwithstanding this his sollemne oath, his princely education here, and all the fauours hee had receiued, both at his departure, and during his captiuitie (if it may be so tearmed, whether it proceeded from a bad disposition in himselfe, or (as I rather take it) from the malice of his Nobilitie (who for the more part were *French* in affection) this Prince of all other shewed least thankfulness: for hauing forgotten the former courtesies, hee entred into matrimoniall alliance with *France*, then

1423.



then at defiance with that his late affinitie with *England*, being euen then ( as it were ) most nearlie naturalized , by his issue in bloud and kindred there-vnto . *Buchanan* doth greatly labour his wittes there-with to wash out this blemish in the midst of the splendor and brightnesse of his manifold graces . But sithence hee faileth ( as I take it ) in the very foundation of that his Apologie , the frame which hee would thereon build , must of necessitie fall to the ground . For hee taketh it already granted , that the king of *England* did both violate his owne faith , and the lawes of all Nations , by detaining the Prince as his lawfull prisoner , vpon his arriual here on the coast . But it is apparant enough ( as before I haue shewed ) that either there was no truce at all betweene the two nations at that instant , or if there were , the same was notoriouly broken by the *Scottes* , in ioyning those their so great forces , with the knowne enemies of this realme , against their lawfull Soueraigne , so farre within his owne kingdome . Admit all that was done without the priuitie of the King him-selfe . But how-so-euer , the good aged man might iustly pleade his innocencie herein ( bearing as then the bare title of King ) how can the State bee excused , against whose knowledge an enterprize of that importance , could not possibly haue bene attempted ? if there were any hard measure offered herein , by king *Henrie* ,  
neuer-

neuerthelesse the same was so fully acquitted by the inestimable benefit of his pretious education ( for as *Buchanan* himselfe reporteth thereof: *Tanta ingenij celeritas & vigor in eo fuisse dicitur, vt nullam homine ingenuo dignum artem ignorabat* ) that truly such a captiuitie should neuer haue moued him to haue falne out with *England*: vpon the mariage of the Lady *Margaret* ( the *Scottish* kings Daughter ) with *Lewis* the *Dolphine*: some sturres arose betweene the *Englishmen* and the *Scottes*, with equall losse on both sides, but not of much reckoning. King *James* neuerthelesse being there-with prouoked, assembled a great powre, and besieged the Castle of *Roxbrough*, from whence he was remoued by the repaire of the *Queene* his wife thither, that informed him of a very dangerous conspiracie against his owne person, how-be-it, shortly after his returne into *Scotland*, hee was wickedly murdered by his subiects in the yeare 1436. 1436. leauing behind him a neuer dying memory of many royall vertues.

The young Prince his sonne, ( *James* the second ) about seauen yeares olde at his fathers death, hauing raigned aboue twentie yeares, was slaine by misfortune at the siege of the same Castle, where the King his Father had knowledge first giuen him of the plotte of his finall destruction. In the meane time there was nothing of any importance passed betweene the



the two nations, what was gotten by either party at one time, was lost againe at another, after the manner of the mutabilitie of those aduentures: happily there would haue beene more doings betweene them, if the continuall troubles with their owne subiects, had not giuen both the kings their hands full at home. Besides that, king *Henry* after the deaths of those two gallant warriors his Vncles, was so busied with loosing that which his victorious father had lately gotten in *France*, as that hee could not attend any dealings with *Scotland*, though hee had beene more then he was therevnto prouoked. But in the end king *James* taking the aduantage of time, (vnder colour to reuenge the death of *Edmond* Duke of *Somerset* his mothers brother, who about five yeares before was slaine at *Saint Albons* by the faction of *Forke*, in the defence of the king) was encouraged to vnder-take this his vnfortunate journey against *Roxbrugh*. Notwithstanding this mishap, the *Scotts* would not giue over the siege, but so manfully assailed the defendants, that in the end they were forced vpon honorable conditions, to yeeld vp the Castle vnto the yong king, (*James* the third) then present, being about the same age that his father was of, when that Castle was besieged last before; but despairing to be able to hold it long in their possession, they cast it downe to the ground, and returned home to solemnize the funerals of the father, and the  
corona-

coronation of the Sonne, in the yeare 1460. 1460.  
within sixe months after this, the King of *England* was deposed, and so together ended the  
raignes of these two kings, the one by vntime-  
ly death, the other by liuing longer: then he knew  
how to raigne, for hauing liued and raigned to-  
gether, about eight and thirtie yeares, hee was  
then by his owne subiects deposed and depriued  
of all kinglie powre, where-vpon both hee, the  
Queene, his wife, and his sonne, fled together in-  
to *Scotland* for succour, from whence the Queene  
passed ouer into *France*, and hauing gathered  
some ayde out of those countries, they assayed  
the recouerie of their former estates, but all in  
vaine, for their aduersarie *Edward* Duke of *Yorke*,  
(the new elected King) still defeated all their  
attempts tending there-vnto. The desolate king  
hauing beene harbored in *Scotland* about three  
yeares, aduentured to retorne vnknowne into  
*England* (I know not with what hope of good  
successe) but being presently discouered, he was  
apprehended, and committed to the Towre of  
London, from whence with-in seauen yeares af-  
ter hee was deliuered, King *Edward* being driuen  
out of the realme by the Earle of *Warwike*, who  
before had been the chiefe meane of his aduance-  
ment to the Crowne. But this was but a light-  
ning before his last fall, for within sixe months  
after, king *Edward* returned againe into *England*,  
where hee found such friends, that forth-with  
with-



without any resistance, hee entred into *London*, tooke King *Henrie* ( who in the meane time was newly crowned ) and committed him to his former imprisonment, where the same yeare hee ended his life not without suspicion of violence. By meanes of this ciuill dissention here in *England*, *Berwicke* became *Scottish*, for King *Henry* had bestowed the same on King *James*, in requitall of the fauour hee had found in *Scotland* during his abode there. Hereat King *Edward* for the present was not onely content to winke, but also willing to accept of a truce with that nation for fiftene yeares. King *James* hauing in the meane season, through lewd counsell of certaine bad persons about him, vniustly executed one of his brothers, and imprisoned an other, fell thereby into contempt and dislike with his subiects, and therefore to make himselfe the stronger, if happily they should rise in armes against him, he sent into *England* ( the expiration of the former truce now approaching ) a solemne Ambassage to intreate that his Sonne *James* the young Prince of *Scotland*, might haue to wife the Lady *Cicellie*, second Daughter to King *Edward*. This request was so well liked of by the King and his Counsell, that the same was easilie yeelded vnto, and for the better assurance thereof, King *Edward* was also willing presently to disburse certaine summes of money, with condition that if afterwarde vpon any occasion the intended marriage

marriage should not hold, that then the monie should within a certaine time limitted, be repayed backe againe. For the performance whereof the principall marchants of *Edenbrough* stood bound to the King of *England*. This was thus concluded vpon in the yeare 1481. While King *James* now hoped that all was safe on his side, by his alliance with *England*, *Alexander* his second brother Duke of *Albanie*, had the good hap to escape out of the Castell of *Edenbrough*, where hee was imprisoned, who hauing afterward spent some time in *France*, and not preuailing so much with *Lewis* the eleuenth, as that hee would bee intreated to ayde him towards the recouerie of his former estate in *Scotland*, came ouer hither into *England*, and earnestlie solicited king *Edward* to make warre vpon the king his brother, thereby to take reuenge for the extreame iniuries done to him and his other brother *John* Earle of *Marre*, from whom he had taken his life, as from him-selfe his lands and libertie. The Duke was herein seconded by the *Dowglas*, who long before had beene banished *Scotland*. These two so much preuailed with King *Edward* (and the rather because the *Scottish* King had euen then permitted his subjects, at the perswasion of the *French* king, to inuade the *English* marches, to the great hurt and annoyance of the inhabitants) that in the end king *Edward* caused preparation for to bee

1481.

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made



made for the inuasion of *Scotland*, against the next spring. The leading of this strong armie, was committed to certaine Noble-men, ouer whom *Richard Duke of Glocester* the Kings brother, then newly come to mans estate, was appointed Lieutenant Generall.

About the beginning of *July* in the yeare following, the *English* host incamped neere vnto *Anwike*, and was marshalled after this manner. The fore-ward was conducted by *Henry Earle of Northumberland*, vnder whose Standard were the Lord *Scroope of Bolton*, and diuers other to the number of fixe thousand and seauen hundred of all sorts. In the middle battaile the Duke himselfe was placed, and with him the Duke of *Albanie*, the Lord *Louell*, the Lord *Greystocke*, Sir *Edward Woodville*, and others, to the number of five hundred and foure-score. The Lord *Neill* was appointed to follow, with three hundred. To the Lord *Standley* was committed the left wing, and the other to the Lord *Fitzhugh*, consisting betweene them of six thousand men. One thousand moe attended the great Ordinance. In this manner they marched towards *Berwicke*, at whose approach the *Scottes* abandoned the towne.

The two Dukes without further stay (leaving behind them forty thousand to besiege the Castle, which was kept by the Earle *Bothwell*) departed thence with the Armie towards *Edenbrough*, burning

burning and spoiling the country as they passed. Being come thither the Duke of *Glocester*, entered the towne without resistance, which at the entreatie of the *Scottish* Duke he forbore to spoile, contenting himselfe with those presents, which the Marchants offered vnto him and his Cap-  
taines. Here hee caused *Garret* (King at armes) by open proclamation to admonish King *James* (who keeping himselfe within the Castell, would not be spoken with-all) to obserue and performe all such couenants, promises, and agreements, as hee had formerly subscribed vnto, and by his seale confirmed, to the vse and behoofe of king *Edward*. And also to make sufficient recompence to his subiects, for all the damage they had sustained by the sundry inuasions of the *Scottes*, whilst the league yet continued betweene the two nations, and this to be done before the first day of August next following. And further, to restore his brother the Duke of *Albanie* to his former estate within the realme of *Scotland*, not detracting or diminishing any part of his possessions, offices and authoritie, which at any time before hee held and inioyed within the same. Otherwise if hee refused to satisfie the King of *England*, in all and euery of these demands, then hee the sayde Duke his Lieutenant generall, would forthwith with fire and sward, pursue the destruction and vtter spoile of him and his kingdome.



Here-vnto King *James*, not knowing presently what answer to make, was altogether silent. But the nobilitie of *Scotland* (who now were not in any great trust and fauour with their King) hauing assembled their forces at *Hadington*, and finding themselues vnable therewith to encounter the puissance of the *English* armie, thought it best to offer a treatie of peace, hoping in the meane time by faire promises to allure the Duke of *Albanie* from his amitie with *England*. Here-vpon by their Letters dated the second of *August*, they signified to the Generall, that it was all their desires, that the former contract of mariage betweene the Prince of *Scotland*, and the King of *Englands* Daughter, should take place, according to the covenants agreed vpon concerning the same. And also that a firme peace betweene the two Nations, might thence-forth bee duely obserued on both sides, and that nothing had beene done by them tending to the breach thereof. Here-vnto Duke *Richard* answered. That for the matter of mariage hee was not acquizinted with the King his Brothers pleasure therein, and therefore could say nothing to that point: but hee had commission to demand such summes of money as their King had before receiued, si-thence hee no more respected the obseruance of the covenants agreed vnto, at the treatie of that marriage, and that the breach of one principall

cipall Article frustrated all the rest. As for peace, he answered flatly, that hee would yeeld to none, vnlesse the Castell of *Berwike* might immediatly be deliuered vp vnto him, or at the least vnlesse they would binde them-selues by oath, neither to remooue the siege, nor to relieue the same, till it were surrendred or taken by force. The *Scottish* Lords vpon these demands, sent vnto the Generall, the Bishop of *Murrey* and the Lord *Dernley* with these instructions. First as touching the repaiment of those summes of money which were by him demanded, the same was not due, the time being not yet come, wherein it was to bee restored againe, according to the agreement at the treatie, of mariage, for as yet both the parties were vnder age. But if the Duke thought the former assurance insufficient, they would do any thing (as farre as reason required) to satisfie him to his full contentment. Secondlie, as concerning the yeelding vp of *Berwicke* Castell, the same was scituate within the anti-ent confines of the realme of *Scotland*, and properlie appertained there vnto, and therefore it could not with-out open wrong, bee taken and kept from them.

The Duke notwithstanding this their plea, would not harken to any motion of peace, vnlesse that Castell were forth-with deliuered to the vse of the King his Brother. The same daye beeing the third of August, *Colind*



Earle of *Argile*, *Andrew* Steward Lord Chancellor of *Scotland* and the two Bishoppes of Saint *Andrewes* and *Dunkell* sent to the Duke of *Albaine* vnto the *English* Campe then at *Leuington* besides *Haddington*, an instrument in writing vnder their hands and seales, contayning such offers of kindnesse towards the recouery of the king his brothers fauour and his former estate, that hauing acquainted the Duke of *Glocester* therewithall, and faithfullie assured him of his loyaltie in that behalfe, he was presently withall kindnesse dismissed, and so repayred to the Lords his councitmen: who immediatlie assembling a Councell, he was by generall consent, not onely restored to his former dignities and possessions, but withall was aduanced to the highest place of gouernment vnder the king, and by open proclamation intituled Lord Lieutenant of *Scotland*. In this assemblie the question was propounded, what was best to be done touching the demand of the Castell of *Berwike*. It seemed good to the best aduised Lords and others amongst them, in that dangerous time, wherein the Realme was so greatlie preplexed by domesticall dissentions, rather to incline to peace, though it were with some losse, then otherwaies to prouoke so mightie an aduersarie, as the king of *England* would bee vnto them. That a good Neighbour (according to the *French* prouerbe) would bee a good mortowe. It was therefore  
in

in the end resolued vpon, without further delay  
to proceede to a conclusion of peace for the pre-  
sent time, how deare soeuer they payed for it.  
Herevpon a deed indented bearing date the  
foure and tweenteth day of the same month of  
August, was presented vnto the Duke of *Glocester*,  
contayning a contract betweene him, Lieu-  
tenant generall for the king of *England* on the  
one part, and the other Duke, Lieutenant gene-  
rall in like manner for the king of *Scotland* on the  
other part: couenancing on the behalfe both of  
the one and other, that an absteinance of warre  
should bee obserued by sea and land, from the  
eight daie of September till the fourth of No-  
uember next following. In which time the  
*Scottish* Duke did couenant to yeelde vp the  
towne and Castell of *Berwike*, into the hands  
and possession of such, as by the king of *England*  
or his deputie should bee therevnto appoynted.  
According to which agreement the said Castell  
was deliuered to the custodie of Lord *Standlie*,  
on the sixe and tweentith daie of the foresaid  
month, hauing then beene in the possession of  
the *Scottes* neere one and twentie yeares, but  
hath euer since continewed *Englisk*. And it was  
further couenanted on the behalfe of the *Scottish*  
Duke, that vpon knowledge giuen, whether it  
was the king of *England* his pleasure, to haue the  
intended marriage betweene his Daughter and  
the young Prince to take place, or otherwise to  
be



be broken off : that then he would proceede accordingly, either to prepare the mony payable vnto him, or else to the present solemnization of the same. But King *Edward* foreseeing, what vnquietnesse was likely to arise in *Scotland* betweene the two brothers, and happely fauoring the Duke more then the King, resolued with himselfe to breake of the marriage in speech betweene them, and to that end hee presently sent *Garter* King of armes, accompanied with an other *Harald* to signifie the same. These men coming to *Edenbrugh*, eight daies before the prefixed time receiued answere of the *Prouost* and *burgesses* ( that stood bound to the King of *England* ) that now vpon notice giuen them of the King their Maisters pleasure, they would make prouision for the repayment of the mony at a day appointed for the same, which was performed accordingly.

The messengers beeing curteously entertayned, and from thence conuaied back againe to *Berwicke*, they repaired to *New-castel*, where they made relation to the Duke of *Glocester* of all their proceedings in *Scotland*, who therevpon with all speed remooued to *Shrine-hutton* and there abode. When King *Edward* had thus ended his businesse with *Scotland* and was now preparing the like iorney into *France*, to bee reuenged on the double dealing hee found in King *Lewis* the eleventh, about the like treatie of a marriage

marriage with the *Dolphine*: that contention was presently taken vp by the messenger of God. For shortly after they both died in one and the same yeare, from the incarnation of our Saviour 1483. In the meane time the Duke of *Albanie* found so little fastie in his owne Countrie, as that to auoide the mischiese, which was intended towards him by the King his brother, hee was forced to repaire againe into *England*, and to make him the more well-come to King *Edward*, hee deliuered into his hands the Castell of *Dumbar*.

King *Edward* being deceased, he was certuouſly entertayned of his late acquaintance, the Duke of *Gloceſter*, who first had made himſelfe Lord Protector of the Realme, but not ſatiſfied therewith, becauſe he aymed at an higher dignitie, within two monthes after hee vſurped the Crowne and title of King, and forth-with for his more ſecurity cauſed the two young Princes his Nephewes to be wickedlie murdered in the Towre of *London*, whither hee had committed them for that purpoſe. The Duke of *Albanie* together with the Earle *Dowglas* (who had remained here as a baniſhed man neere thirty yeares) with ſuch aide as they could get, made ſundrie roades into *Scotland*, but ſtill with more loſſe then aduantage. *Dowglas* in the end was taken and lead into *Scotland*, where he died in the Abbey of *Landoris*.

But



But the Duke seeing hee could obtaine no better reliefe at King *Richards* hands, secretly passed quer into *France*, where he dyed shortly after of an hurt, which hee receiued of the Duke of *Orliance*, as they ranne together at the tilt. King *James* being now false into no lesse contempt of his subiects, thorow his dissolute life, and ouer small regard of his nobilitie, then king *Richard* was with the *Englishmen*, for his outrageous crueltie: both the one and the other were vehemently distracted with continuall feare of their vtter falls. In this perplexitie they both mette with one and the same conceipt, which was by a league of friendship betweene them-selues, to strengthen and confirme one the others desperate estate: so as King *Richard* had no sooner propounded an offer of peace, but the other most willingly entertained the same. Time and place was forth-with appointed, when & where Commissioners on both sides should meete about this businesse, which within three weekes was brought to this issue. A truce was taken to endure from the end of September (which was

1484. in the yeare 1484.) for the terme of three yeares. More-over for the better strengthening thereof, king *Richard* entred into a treatie also, of a new alliance by marriage, betweene the Duke of *Rothesay*, the young Prince of *Scotland*, and the Lady *Anne de la Poole*, Daughter to *John* Duke of *Suffolke* by his sister, whom he so much fauoured

faured, that after the decease of his owne Son,  
he caused her Sonne, *John Earle of Lincolne*, to  
bee proclaimed heire apparent to the Crowne  
disinherityng all the daughters of his brother  
the late deceased king. For the effecting of this  
intended marriage, both the kings did send their  
Commissioners againe to *Notingham*, (where  
the former peace was also concluded) which was  
likewise there agreed vpon, and the assurance in-  
grossed and ratified by hand and seale, and affian-  
ces made and taken by deputies on both sides.  
The sayd Lady was thence forth called and re-  
puted *Princesse of Rathsay*. But by occasion of  
the death of king *Richard* (that was shortly after  
slaine at *Bosworth field*) she inioyed that title but  
a while. During the time of truce, some ques-  
tion did arise for the restitution of the Castell  
of *Dumbar* which the Duke of *Albaine* had be-  
stowed on king *Edward*, as is afore-said, but king  
*Richard* gaue so good words that while hee liued  
he held the same. Neuerthelesse before king  
*Henrie* the seauenth was fullie settled, the *Scottish*  
king layed sledge against it with such egernesse,  
as that the defendantes dispayring of anie aide  
in conuenient time out of *England*, in so turbu-  
lent a season, gaue it vp, not without suspition  
(it is sayd) of treason. This *Henry* hauing for-  
tunately subdewd the tirant in the field, and  
thereby attained the Crowne in the yeare 1485.  
sought principallie to establisth his estate by  
alliance



alliance and lawes at home, and then by league and amity with his neighbour the *Scottish* King. By his marriage with the Ladie *Elizabeth* (the eldest Daughter of king *Edward* the fourth) the two houses of *Lancaster* and *Yorke*, which had for many yeares before contended for the Soueraignty, were graciously vnited in the issue, that did spring from them two, vpon whom, for the auoyding of all titles and claimes (peramount) in time to come the Crowne of *England* by generall consent in Parliament of the three estates, was limited and intayled, as in that statute at large may appeare. As for the renewing of the league with *Scotland*, king *James* was as readie to imbrace peace, as the other was to offer it, hoping thereby more safely to prosecute his long desired reuenge vpon diuerse of the Nobilitie, that had highlie (but I knowe not how worthilie) incurred his displeasure, which thing shortly after turned to his owne destruction. For hauing vnadvisedlie ioyned battaile with his aduersaries at *Bannocksburne*, with in two miles of *Sterling*, hee was finallie put to flight and pursued vnto death. This came to passe

1488. in the yeare 1488. King *Henrie* at his intreatie had sent to his aide fise tall shippes of warre, which with the rest of his expected succours (thorough his owne ouer much hast) came all too late to do him anie seruice.

These

These Shippes ( saith *Buchanan* ) lying against *Dumbar*, were set vpon by two *Scottish* Shippes, conducted by *Andrew* *Woode*, and by force were taken and brought to *Leith*. But I doubt much of the truth hereof, for, neither is it likely, that the *Englishmen* would yeelde without some losse of bloud ( whereof there is no mention ) or that two *Scottish* shippes could bee able so easilie to subdewe five such *English*, as ( no doubt ) were especiallie chosen for that seruice, when as not long after ( as hee himselfe confesseth ) three other indured so long a fight against them. Wherefore I rather thinke, that those five shippes were by some stratagē deceaued by the said *Andrew*: for, howsoeuer afterwards hee was drawne from that side, it was not vnknowne to the *Englishmen*, that the *Scottish* King ( while hee liued ) reposed such trust in him, as that he was made Generall ouer his nauie, and consequentlie a partaker of their owne fortunes, beeing all come thither to assist the *Scottish* king. But bee it as it may bee, I must needes commend the young Prince of *Scotland*, for returning home *Bull* and his companions without ransome or rebuke, who in the latter conflict with *Wood*, contended more for glory, then vpon hope of gaine to be gotten therby. For the tearme of 7. yeares, from the death of *James* the third, while the truce betweene the two Nations continewd,

peace



peace was embraced on both sides. In the meane time it was deuised by the Ladie *Margaret*, Duchesse of *Burgoigne*, who greatly enuied the prosperity of king *Henry*, onely because he was descended of the *Lancastrian* family, an ancient enemy to her line, that one *Peter Marbecke* borne at *Tornay* of base parentage, but by her trained vp and instructed for that purpose, should take vpon him the person of *Richard Duke of Yorke*, second Sonne to her brother king *Edward* the fourth, who together with his brother were murthered in the Towre, as before I haue shewed. This ioylie youth, hauing first assaied, what entertainment hee might finde in *Ireland* and *France*, (which fell not out to his liking) transported himselfe at length into *Scotland*, hoping there, by reason of the want of experience in the young king (*James* the fourth) and the too great forwardnesse of his people to quarrell with *England*, to finde that Nation more pliable to his designments, which came to passe accordingly. For hauing first priuatlie to the king, and after that in a publique assemblie, made knowne what person he pretended to be, and with all the skill he had, allured both Prince and people to a commiseration of his misfortunes: whether it were that they were mooued by an ouer-light beliefe in pitie, or a counterfeit credulity in policie, his complaint so much preuailed with the greater number, that it was held

held a matter of great reproche, not to ioyne with him in the attaining of the Crowne of *England*, where-vnto hee pretended so iust a title. Forth-with king *James* caused him to bee called the Duke of *Yorke*. And for a further fauour, to giue him the more courage, and his cause the more credit, hee gaue him in mariage the Lady *Katherine Gordon*, Daughter to *Alexander* Earle of *Huntley*, his nigh kinsman, whose beauty better beseemed her birth, then such a Bride-groome. King *James* hauing prepared all things fit for the enterprice, entred into *Northumberland*, causing proclamation to be made, that he would fauor all those that would submit themselues to this new created Duke, but finding none that would follow or acknowledge any such mā, the *Scots* committed all to the furie of fire and sword. Hereby hauing well neere wasted the whole countrey, they returned home, inriched with many good booties, before an armie could be made ready to incounter them. King *Henry* being not a little moued, purposed the next spring to be reuenged, but euen as the army was marching towards *Scotland*, vnder the conduct of the Lord *Daubiney*, it was sodenly called backe againe, by occasion of a commotion begun by the *Cornish-men*, so as for that time the intended iourney was preuented.

King *James* hauing his Armie also in readinesse, ouer-slipped not the opportunitie, but  
R while



while king *Henry* was busied about the suppressing of this rebellion in the West parts, hee invaded his dominions on the North. For deviding his Armie, he himselfe with a part thereof besieged the Castell of *Norham*, while the rest forrayed the countrie there-about. *Richard Fox* Bishop of *Durham* (to whome the Castle appertained,) aduerrising king *Henry* hereof, the Earle of *Surrie* (that was then in readinesse, vpon any occasion offered to be imployed) was commanded with all speed to relieue the same. His whole armie was little lesse then twentie thousand men, besides the preparation at Sea, whereof the Lord *Brooke* was Admirall. The Earle was accompanied with diuerse Lords and Gentlemen of the North, amongst whom I finde these following, appointed chiefe Leaders and Commanders, namely;

<i>Ralph</i> earle of <i>Westmerland</i> .	<i>Sir William Percie.</i>
<i>Thomas</i> Lord <i>Dacres</i> .	<i>Sir William Bulmere.</i>
<i>Ralph</i> Lord <i>Neuille</i> .	<i>Sir William Gascoigne.</i>
<i>George</i> Lord <i>Strange</i> .	<i>Sir Ralph Bigod.</i>
<i>Richard</i> Lord <i>Latimer</i> .	<i>Sir Ralph Bowes.</i>
<i>George</i> Lord <i>Lumley</i> .	<i>Sir Thomas Aparrie.</i>
<i>John</i> Lord <i>Scroope</i> .	<i>Sir Ralph Caldercarre.</i>
<i>Henry</i> Lord <i>Clifford</i> .	<i>Sir Iohn Constable.</i>
<i>George</i> Lord <i>Ogle</i> .	<i>Sir Iohn Ratcliffe.</i>
<i>William</i> Lord <i>Conniers</i> .	<i>Sir Iohn Sauille.</i>
<i>Thomas</i> Lord <i>Darcie</i> .	<i>Sir Thom: Stranguisse.</i>
<i>Thomas</i> Baron of <i>Hilton</i> .	

Thus

Thus was king *Henry* set on worke at home, as well by his owne subiects on the one side, as by the *Scottes* on the other. But hee did so warily foresee all dangers, that he easily preuented the malice of them both. For the *Cornishmen* were defeited at the battaile of *Black-heath-field*, and the *Scottes* at the approach of the Earle gaue ouer the sledge, and returned home as lightly laden as when they came thence. The Armie beeing come by this time within two dayes marche of the enemies, made all the hast that could bee, to haue ouer-taken them, but seeing they would not abide, the *Englishmen* made what spoile they could within *Scotland*, where hauing taken their pleasures for the space of sixe or seauen dayes, they returned to *Berwicke* with-out any shew of resistance, although that at the taking of the Castell of *Hayton* (it is said) the *Scottish* Armie was within one mile of the *Englishmen*.

Thus was king *Henrie* sufficiently reuenged on the *Scottes*, that were so ready to take part with *Perkin* the counterfeit Duke of *Torke*, who now had apparently enough shewed himselfe to the world, as that which followed shortly after shewed. For vpon a treatie of truce betweene the two Nations, vndertaken and effected by *Peter Hiolas* an Ambassadour of *Spaine*, king *James* was contented, for the furtherance thereof, to send the other *Peter*



packing out of *Scotland*, to seeke new intertainement some-where else, where he was not so well knowne. But this aduenturous Gallant once againe attempting to trie some maisteries here in *England*, was vtterly forsaken of all his adherents, where-vpon for his more safetie, he committed his person first to Sanctuary, and from thence submitted him-selfe to the Kings mercy, who appointed a gard to attend him, from whom escaping, hee was recouered, and committed to the Towre of London, where practising an escape, hee was finally for his seuerall offences executed at Tyburne, as hee well deserued. The poore Lady his vnfortunate wife, being in the meane time taken and presented to the King: his Maiestie tooke such compassion on her pitifull estate, that hee gaue order shee should bee carefully conuayed to the Queene his wife, of whome shee was courteouslie intertained, and remained in the *English* Court a long time after in good estimation.

King *James* well foreseeing what benefit it would be vnto him, if by any good meanes a firme peace and amitie with *England*, might bee obtained, tooke occasiō now in the time of truce to send for the Bishop of *Durham*, who was shortly after admitted by king *Henry* to repaire into *Scotland*. Beeing come to the kings presence, after much friendly speach, hee made knowne vnto him, his great desire to confirme a  
perfect

perfect peace and vnitie with *England*, by taking to wife the Lady *Margaret*, eldest Daughter to the king his Maister. The Bishop willingly promised his best indeuour to bring the matter to passe, which about three yeares after, was effected accordingly, notwithstanding that in the meane season, Prince *Arthur*, the kings eldest sonne deceasing, Prince *Henry* his brother remained onely a barre betweene her and the Crowne. True it is, that this Ladye was affianced, and by proxie contracted to the *Scottish* king, while Prince *Arthur* yet liued, about sixe weekes after his marriage with the Lady *Katherine* of *Spaine*. Neuer the-lesse if king *Henry* had beene disposed (vpon his sonnes death) to haue broken and auoyded the same, it had beene no difficult point for him to haue preuailed so much with the Pope, who not long after dispenced in a matter of greater offence, with the marriage (I meane) of king *Henry* the eight with the said Lady *Katherine* his brothers wife. It is reported by *Morgan*, that when the king of *Englands* Councell began to fore-cast some perill in this match with *Scotland*, his Maiestie vpon good aduise answered, that although that thing should come to passe hereby, which they seemed to stand in doubt of, namely, the intitling of king *James* and his posteritie to the Crowne of *England*, hee so little distrusted, that any inconuenience should insue thereof



vnto this realme, as that for his part he thought nothing could happen more gracious to both nations: which by that meane should be vnited and made one Monarchie. And further that *Scotland* being much inferior in quantitie and qualitie vnto *England*, should bee therefore reputed and held but a dependence on it, as *Normandie* was at the time of the Conquest. And lastlie when that should come to passe, hee that by this mariage should be heire to both kingdoms, would in his stile of regalitie preferre *England* before the other. This was the ninth time, that since the conquest, the *Scottish* Kings haue married with the *English* Nation; and for the more part with the bloud royall, from all which some issue hath sprung, two onely excepted. For first, *Malcolme Canmoire* king of *Scotland*, married *Margaret*, sister to *Edgar Atheling*, whose sonne king *Dauid*, married *Milde* the Daughter and heire of *Waltheolfe* Earle of *Northumberland*, whose sonne Prince *Henry* married a Daughter of Earle *Warham*, whose sonne king *William*, married the Lady *Ermangard*, the daughter of *Richard* Vicount *Beaumont*, who was sonne to a Daughter of *William* the Conquerour. *Alexander* the second, their sonne, married the Lady *Jane*, Sister to King *Henric* the second, but had no issue by her. *Alexander* the third his sonne, married *Margaret* Daughter to King *Henry* the third, whose posteritie ended in *Margaret* their grand-

grand-child, the heire of Norway. After this, *David Bruce* ( whose great Grand-mother was Daughter to *Hugh Bohune* Earle of *Chester*, and wife to *David* brother to King *William* of *Scotland* ) married *Jane*, Sister to King *Edward* the second, but hee dyed with-out issue, where-vpon the crowne of *Scotland* descended vnto the Noble and ancient familie of the *Stewards*, the third king whereof ( *James* the first ) married the Lady *Jane*, Daughter of *John* Earle of *Somerset*, which *James* was great Grand-father to this *James*, who now last of all married the eldest Daughter of this King *Henry*, from whom *James* the sixt now King is lineally descended in the third degree, both by Father and Mother.

Though in the meane time, none of our Kings haue married with *Scotland*, saue onely King *Henrie* the first, whereby the Crowne returned to the *Saxon* bloud ( as hath beene declared ) yet diuers of our Nobilitie haue matched in the bloud royall of *Scotland*. Hereby it appeareth how much that Nation hath alwayes sought to strengthen it selfe, by alliance with *England*, though *France* hath of late so much preuailed, that therein it hath beene preferred before vs, but with no very good successe, as the sequell declareth. During the life of King *Henry* ( which was within two months of sixe yeares after this marriage ) no occasion of quarrell was offered on either part, but all loue and kindnesse, that



might bee desired, passed betweene the two Kings. Neither did king *Henry* the eight (that succeeded his Father) giue his brother in lawe king *James*, anie iust occasion to breake friendshippe with him, but it seemeth the same wholly proceeded from the subtile practise of *France* our ancient enemye, as many times before, that Nation had done the like, for it hath bene euer their policie to sowe dissention betweene *England* and *Scotland*, to the end they might set the king of *England* on worke at home, fearing hee would otherwise be too busie with them. This *Henrie* hauing with great felicity raigned neere foure and twenty yeares, least behinde him vnto his Sonne king *Henrie* the eight, so assured and settled a kingdome, and withall such abundance of treasure, as neuer any of his predecessours did the like before him. He died in the yeare of our redemption 1509. In the third yeare of this

1509. last king *Henries* raigne, it fell out that *Lewis* the *French* king made sharpe warre on Pope *Iulius* in *Italie*, wherevpon thorough the sollicitation of *Maximilian* the Emperour, and *Ferdinand* king of *Spaine* ( whose Daughter king *Henrie* had married, by dispensation from that martiall Prelate ) hee was easilie drawne to ioyne with them in the Popes behalfe. King *James* hauing not long before receiued manie fauoures of the *French* King, and amongst the rest, two shippes fraught with gunnes, speares and all other kinde

of

of munition for warre, (a good preparatiue to the practise following) was thereby made more inclinable to the *French* faction. And for a further spurre therevnto, diuerse of his clergie, who had likewise tasted of the liberality of king *Lewis*, sought all occasiones where-by to prick him forward in that course. This could not be compassed, till such time as they had first alienated him wholie from his former affection towards *England*. To which end the Bishoppe of *Murrey* (a priuie man of that faction) was sent to King *Henrie*, now well-nere after nine yeares silence, to demand a certaine pretious vestement, and rich attire, which (as was pretended) was giuen to the *Scottish* Queene by her brother Prince *Arthur* at his death. King *Henry* distrusting some subtilty herein, to the end hee would preuent all occasion of vnkindnesse, answered, that the king his brother should not onely haue at his hands, that which was dewe, but else whatsoever he desired of him. The Bishoppe with this answere (which was better happelic then he either wished or expected) returned home. But howsoeuer King *James* regarded the message, this Bishoppe was forth-with sent into *France*, and after him certaine shippes well appointed for seruice, which not long before had beene prepared (as was giuen out) to transport the king into *Siria* against the infidelles. This navy should haue beene presented vnto the *French*  
Queene



Queene for a speciall fauor towards her onely, but the same had so bad successe in the passage, as that neither shee or her husband had any benefit by them. In the meane season complaint was made to king *Henry*, that two *Scottish* ships, (to whom king *James* had graunted letters, of mart against the *Portingalls*) had greatlie molested the *English* Marchants, and other passingers along the Coast. For redresse hereof Sir *Edmond Howard*, Lord Admirall of *England*, and the Lord *Thomas Sonne* and heire to the Earle of *Surrey*, were presentlie sent forth with two shippes of warre, who behaued themselues in such sort, that within a month after, they brought them both to *Black-wall*. *Andrew Barton* Captaine ouer them, died of the hurtes hee receiued in fight; they that remained aliue were all pardoned and sent home. King *James* tooke this matter so heynouslie, that wryting thereof to King *Henrie*, he charged him with breach of the league, wherevnto this answere was returned. That the execution of iustice vpon pirates (such as his people at sea were) was neuer held violation of amitie, that hee showed fauour enough in pardoning those that escaped the danger of fight. Yet for his better satisfaction herein, he would presently send commissioners to the borders, to treat of this and of other disorders in those partes. The *Scottes* in the meane season, ceased not from inuading the

the *English* marches, but still to their losse. For at one conflict two hundred of them were taken prisoners and many more slaine. This blowe so much prouoked King *James*, that refusing to commit the deciding of these quarrels to anie Commissioners, he purposed with himselfe to take reuenge, when oportunitie better serued. And therefore when King *Henry* was passed ouer into *France*, and had besiedged the towne of *Turwin*, King *James* sent ouer vnto him *Lion* king at armes (his principall *Herald*) with letters of defiance to this effect. First hee complained, that no restitution was yet made, for the damages his subiects had lately sustayned, both by land and sea. Secondly that bastard *Heron* with his complices ( who in the raigne of the King his Father, at a meeting for the execution of iustice, had treacherously slaine *Robert Car* his warden) were not punished according to their deserts.

That *Andrewe Barton* was slaine by his commandement. That his wiues legacy was vniustlie detained. And though hee could haue borne all these iniuries, yet he might not indure the extreame wrongs offerd by him, to his ancient allies and friends, the *French* King and the Duke of *Gelders*, into whose lands and territories he was now entred, notwithstanding he had earnestlie intreated him to the contrarie, and:



and in all hostile manner prosecuted the destruction of them, their subiects and countries. In consideration of which dealings towards his owne person, and those Princes so neerely conioyned with him in amitie, hee held himselfe bound by dutie of his alliance with them, to relieue their estates by all the good meanes that lay in his powre. And this hee would forthwith put in execution, vnlesse he ceased further to molest them. This letter was dated at *Edenbrough* the sixe and twentieth day of Iuly, and sealed with his owne Signet, where vnto king *Henrie* made answer as followeth.

» Right excellent, high and mightie Prince: we  
 » haue receiued your writing, by your Herald *Ly-*  
 » on this bearer, wherein after rehearfall and accu-  
 » mulation of many surmised iniuries, grieues,  
 » and damages, done by vs and our subiects, to  
 » you and yours, the specialties whereof were su-  
 » perfluous to rehearse, remembring that to them,  
 » and euery of them, reasonable answer, founded  
 » vpon lawe and conscience, hath here-to-fore bin  
 » made to you and your counsell: Yee not onely  
 » require vs to desist from further inuasion and  
 » vtter destruction of your brother and cousin the  
 » *French king*, but also certifie vs that you will  
 » take part in defence of the same king, vnlesse  
 » wee presently yeeld to your request. All which  
 » tendeth wholly to the breach of the perpetuall  
 peace

peace passed, concluded, and sworne-vnto by vs “  
both. Howbeit, if neither the loue and dread of “  
God, nighnesse of bloud, honour of the world, “  
lawe nor reason could haue preuailed with you, “  
we suppose you would neuer haue so farre pro- “  
ceeded against vs, especially in our absence. “  
Herein the Pope and al Princes Christened may “  
well note in you dishonorable dealing, in that “  
you haue waited to take the aduantage of mine “  
absence, whereof we neede no other prooffe and “  
approbation then your owne letters heretofore “  
sent vs, while we were within our Realme, wher- “  
in you neuer made mention of taking part with “  
our enemy the *French* King, but passed the time “  
with vs, till after our departure thence. But “  
now happily supposing that we bee destitute of “  
defence against your inuasion ( beeing so farre “  
from home ) you haue vpon that aduantage vt- “  
tered the old rancoure of your stomake, which “  
you haue hitherto kept secret. Neuerthelesse “  
wee remembring the brittlenesse of your pro- “  
mise, and suspecting ( though not wholie belee- “  
uing ) so much vnstedfastnesse in you, thought it “  
expedient to put our Realme in redinesse, a- “  
gainst whatsoeuer your interprises, trusting that “  
by the fauour of God and the assistance of our “  
confederates and allies, we shalbe able to main- “  
taine our right, against the malice of you, and “  
your adherentes. And we hope in time con- “  
uenient to remember our friends, and requite “  
you “



„ you and our enemies, which by such vnna-  
 „ turall demeanour haue giuen sufficient cause  
 „ to the disinheriting of you and your pos-  
 „ terity for euer, from the possibility, that you  
 „ haue, to the Realme, which you are now ready to  
 „ inuade. The example lately shewed vpon the  
 „ King of *Nauar*, (who, for assisting the *French* king  
 „ was set besides his kingdome) may be a warning  
 „ vnto you. Finallie as touching your request,  
 „ that I would desist from further attempting  
 „ against our enemy the *French* King: wee  
 „ knowe you are no competent iudge, nor of  
 „ authoritie to inforce vs therevnto. Where-  
 „ fore wee purpose (God willing) with the aide  
 „ and assistance of our confederates and allies to  
 „ prosecute the warre, we haue hitherto prospe-  
 „ rouslie proceeded in. Giuen vnder our signet  
 „ in our Campe before *Tirwin* the twelfth daie of  
 „ August.

„ This letter was deliuered to the *Scottish*  
 „ Herald, who immediatlie departed there-with  
 „ into *Flanders*, there to haue taken shippe for  
 „ *Scotland*. But for want of readie passage hee  
 „ arriued not there, till the King his Maister was  
 „ slaine in the field. For King *James* with his ar-  
 „ my hauing passed over the water of *Tweed*,  
 „ the two and twentieth daie of the sayd month  
 „ of August, lodged the first night neere the ri-  
 „ uer of *Tinsell*, and the next daie laied siege to  
 „ *Norham*

Norham Castell, which was easilie gotten thorough want of loyaltie or discreffion in him that kept it. King *James* hauing taken his pleasure in those partes for the space of eightene daies, the Earle of *Surrey* Lieutenant Generall in the Kings absence ouer the North-partes of the Realme, had in the meane-time giuen order to assemble a power of some six & twenty thousand men, and comming to *Anwicke* the third of September, taried there all the next day, till the whole army was gathered together, which by reason of the foulness of the waies, could not make such speed as was expected. The day following, his Son the Lord Admirall, which such men of war as had bin with him at the sea, repaired to his father, to whom he was very welcome because he could neuer haue come to any seruice, wherein his helpe was more needeful then at this very time. After some parlaunce by officers at armes and others, by which means the *Scottes* were politikely drawne to a more indifferent place for battaile, then otherwise they would willingly haue yeelded vnto; at length both armies prepared themselves to encounter each one the other. King *James* yet keeping the higher ground, diuided his whole armie into five battailes, or (after the new phrase) battalions, to the intent the same, wherein he himselfe was placed, might bee inclosed with two winges on either side.

The



The two on his right hand, were conducted by the Earles of *Huntley, Craford*, and *Montrosse*: the two on his leaft, by the Earles of *Lenox* and *Argile*: the Lord *Hume*, (Lord Chamberlaine of *Scotland*: ) and diuerse other were also appoynted ouer seuerall companies, amongst whome were certaine *Frenchmen*, whom King *Lewis* had sent ouer to traine the *Scottes* in the feites of armes. There great Ordinance was placed most conueniently, for the annoiance of the aduerse party, but by reason of the hight of the ground, their shot did small hurt to the *Englishmen*, marching vp towards them.

The *Englishmen* diuided themselves into as many battailes as were most answerable to their enemies forces. Ouere the vanguard, the Lord *Howard* was the commander. Sir *Edmond* his brother, with his charge garded him as a winge on his right hand. The Earle himselfe lead the middle-ward, and Sir *Edmond Stanley* the reareward. The Lord *Dacres* with a troope of horsemen was set apart by himselfe, to succor where neede should most requier. The Ordinance was planted in the front of the battaile, and in places betweene one and another, as was thought most expedient. Both the armies beeing thus marshalled, Sir *Edmond Howard* aduancing his people on the side of the hill, was incountred by the Lord *Hume*, who with his speares assayled the other so violently, that had not bastard *Heron* come

come readily to his succour, Sir *Edmund* had not escaped death, being well neere left alone of his companie. Hereat the other wing of the *Scottes*, that was lead by the Earles of *Lennox* and *Argile*, tooke such incouragement, that leauing their ensignes behind them, and rushing vpon the *Englishmen*, without order, they were thereby, well neere all of them (together with the two Earles) beaten downe, by that time the other *Scottes* were returned from pursuing the *Englishmen*, whom they had in chase. These men also, being set vpon a fresh, both before and behind, were likewise well neere all slaine. King *James* who a little before had encountred the Earle of *Surrey*, perceiuing that the wings of his battaile were thus defeited, and that the *Englishmen* were now ready to encompassse him about, was nothing abashed at the sight, but with a cheerefull countenance encouraging those that were about him, and (withall) desperatly rushing into the thickest prease on foote, maintained the fight a long time, in-so-much that pierfing the Earles battaile, the *Scottes* entred so farre within the same, that they were at point to haue overthrowne his Standard. But at length the *Englishmen* pressed so fore vpon them, that they overthrew Sir *Adam Forman*, the *Scottish* kings Standard-bearer: which the king perceiuing, thought surely then there was no way for him to escape. Wherefore to deliuer him-selte from such re-



proach, as happily he thought would haue beene breathed out vpon him; he cast himselfe the more carelesly into the greatest heate of his enimies fury, and so ended his life in the middest of them. Such was the end of this vnfortunate Prince, in nothing more vnfortunate, then in that hee contended with his owne good fortune. For if he had continued constant to king *Henry*, he might haue liued many yeares in as great felicity, as euer any of his predecessors did before him. Round about him died with the like obstinacie, many of his chiefe Prelates, namely the Archbishop of Saint *Andrewes*, and two other Bishops, besides foure Abbots, and of Lords and men of speciall note aboue six and thirtie. The whole number of *Scots* slaine at this battaile, could in all likelyhood, bee no lesse then ten thousand, considering the losse of so many leaders amongst them: and the small number of them that were taken prisoners; amongst whom there were but two of name, *Sir William Scotte* Chancelour to the king, and *Sir John Forman* his Sergiant Porter. Amongst other peeces of great ordinance taken at this time, there were seauen Culuerings of like sise and making, called the Seauen Sisters. This famous ouerthrow was giuen the *Scottes* in September in the yeare 1513. and that within the space of little more then three houres, which happily would haue prooued more bloudie on both sides, had not the night taken vp the quarrell.

1513.

rell. Of *Englishmen* were flaine (as *Hall* reporteth) about some fiftene hundred: diuers were taken prisoners by following the *Scottes* ouer-egerly in the chase, after day-light was done. It was not well knowne on which side the victorie was false, vntill the next morning, for then the Lord *Dacres* with his troopes of horsemen, being sent abroad to view the behauiour of the *Scottes*, found they had forsaken their artillarie, and left the field. The Kings body being found, many deepe and deadly wounds appeared on the same, which the Earle of *Surrey* caused to be im-bowelled and seared, wherewith (hauing set all things in good order) he returned to the *Queene of England*. In memory of this notable victorie ouer that nation, his family hath hitherto borne in their Scutchions the armes of *Scotland* for an addition of Honor therunto, but with what right I know not. Amongst other prodigious signes, immediatly fore-going this bloud-shed, *Buchanan* recordeth one very memorable, receiued from the report of him that was an eye witnesse thereof, a man of speciall credit with him. This it was: King *James* going to his armie, now ready to set forward, entred into a Chappell that was in his way to heare euen-song (as then it was called): while hee was at his deuotion, an ancient man came in, bare-headed, his golden coloured locks hanging downe vpo his shoulders, his fore-head high, and inclining to baldnesse, his garments of



Azure colour some-what long, girded about him with a Towell or table Napkin, of a comelie and reuerend countenance. Hauing inquired for the king, hee intruded himselfe into the prease, passing thorow till hee came to him: then leaning vpon the Kings seate, he thus spake, after a good, plaine, and familier maner. Sir King, I am sent to admonish thee to proceed no further in this thy intended iourney: which aduise if thou doost refuse to follow, it will be worlse for thee and them that attend thee therein. I am further charged to warne thee, not to vse the acquaintance, companie, or counsell of women, for if thou doe otherwise, it will turne to thy losse and dishonour. This being said, hee with-drew him-selfe backe againe into the prease. When seruice was ended, the king inquired earnestly for him, but hee could no where bee found, neither could any of the standers by (of whom diuerse did narrowlie obserue him, meaning afterwards to haue questioned further with him) feele or perceiue how, or when hee passed from them. *Queene Margaret*, after the death of her husband challenged the protection of the realme, as the king by his last Will and Testament disposed the same, so long as shee continued a widow. Being therein establisht, first of all she wrote to king *Henry* her brother, intreating him not onely to cease from pursuing warre further vpon *Scotland* (being euen then at warre with it selfe)

thus A

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but

but also to bee a defence vnto her and the infant her sonne (not much aboue a yeare old) against all such, as happily would oppose theselues against her. Here vnto King *Henry* answered, that with the peaceable hee would haue peace, but to the froward & seditious he would be an enemy. Not long after *Queene Margaret*, hauing married *Archibald Dowglas*, (the prime and choise man amongst all the *Scottish* nobility) the realme began to be deuided into two mighty factions. They of the *Dowglasian* party would haue the gouernmēt continued in the *Queene*, because thereby the realme should still haue peace with *England*, which at that season was a point very necessarily to be respected. The aduerse party (of whom the Lord *Hume* was the principall man) pretending an ancient custome in that case, importuned the election of *John Duke of Albanie*, sonne to the former Duke *Alexander*. This gentleman for the most part had liued before in *France*, and was wholly deuoted to the seruice of King *Francis*, who to bind him the faster vnto him, had dealt very honorably with him at his departure into *Scotland*. Immediatly vpon his arriual, great dissention arose betwixt him and others of the *Scottish* Nobility, but especially the Lord *Hume*, who (as before I haue touched) was the chiefe meane of his preferment to that place. *Queene Margaret* much fearing the issue hereof, together with her husband, and some other of that faction, for her



more safely repaired into *England*. During her abode there, she was deliuered at *Herbottle*, of a Daughter, the Lady *Margaret Dowglas*, grandmother to King *James* the sixt, now king by his father, as her brother, King *James* the fift was his grand-father by his mother. So as his Father and Mother, were the children of brother and sister, namely of *James* the fift, and this Lady *Margret* his halfe sister. But the new Regent the Duke of *Albanie*, so excused himselfe by Ambassage to the king of *England* in that point, that within a yeare after, the Queene returned into *Scotland*, honorably attended, and richly appointed of all things fit for her estate. The Earle *Dowglas* her husband (who in the meane season had obtained the Regents fauour) receiued her at *Berwicke*, and from thence did accompanie her home. All quarrels in the meane time being well appeased in *Scotland*, the Regent passed ouer into *France*, committing the yong Prince (together with the gouernment of the realme) in his absence to certaine of the Nobilitie, but aboue all the rest, hee reposed most trust in a *Frenchman* named *Antho-nie Darcie*, Captaine of the Castell of *Dunbarre*, whom he ioyned in commission with the *Scottish* Lords, to the end he might giue him intelligence of all their proceedings in his absence. It was this mans hap soone after to be slaine by the *Scots*, & for more despise, to haue his head stroken off, and set vpon *Hume* Castell, to the view of all that passed

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passed by. This outrage was cōmitted the twelſe  
of September, in the yeare 1517. which gaue be- 1517.  
ginning to ſome new broiles amongſt them. Du-  
ring the abſence of the Duke, the *Dowglaſſian*  
faction bare greateſt ſway, for the continuance  
whereof, king *Henry* laboured the *French* King to  
keepe the Duke ſtill with him: neuer the-leſſe by  
reaſon of ſome trouble likely to ariſe betweene  
*France & England*, the Regent returned into *Scot-*  
*land*, about ſiue yeares after his departure thence,  
with a purpoſe to abate the ouer-great powre of  
the *Dowglas*. Immediatly herevpō *Gawen Dowglas*  
Biſhop of *Dunkell* (a very reuerend man) came in-  
to *England* & informed the king, how great an ad-  
uerſary the Regent was to his whole family, and  
that he alone had taken on him the cuſtody of the  
yong king, the ſequell whereof hee much feared.  
This Biſhop died ſhortly after at London, & was  
buried in the *Sanoy-church*. King *Henry* vpon this  
complaint, ſent *Clarentius* (king at Armes) into  
*Scotland*, to admoniſh the Duke to auoide the  
country, according to the Articles agreed vpon  
the ſumner before, in the laſt truce takē with the  
*French* king; for the king held it very vnreaſona-  
ble and inconuenient, to admit him ſole *Gardian*  
ouer the yong Prince, that was next heire after  
him to the Crowne, leaſt happily by ſuch oppor-  
tunity he might be tempted to cōmit the like vn-  
natural cruelty, which ſome haue done in the like  
caſe both in *England & Scotland*. That therfore the  
king



king his maister (said *Clarentius*) had great reason to provide for the safety of his nephew, whereof hee could no way bee better assured, then by keeping him from that place and authority in *Scotland*. But of all these threats the Regent seemed to make light account. Now began the *French* king to quarrell againe with king *Henry*, before the truce was fully expired, where-vpon all the *Frenchmen* and *Scots*, that then inhabited in *London* and other places of the realme, were put to their fines, and a strong Naue was forthwith sent to the Sea vnder the conduct of Sir *William Fitz-Williams* Vice-admirall, and seauen other were at the same time sent also against *Scotland*, the which entring into the *Furth*, set fire on diuerse *Scottish* ships, and so returned with their prisoners into *England*. The same yeare the Lord *Rosse* and the Lord *Dacres* of the North, who were appointed to keepe the borders, entered also with their forces into *Scotland*, and burnt the towne of *Kelfoe*, besides many other villages, ouer-threw sundry holdes and piles of stone, and then returned home with their booties. The Regent being here-with prouoked to reuenge, raised a great powre, where-with approaching the Marches, he fully purposed to invade *England*. But whether it were, that hee thought himselfe ouer-weake, to incounter the *English* armie, that was comming on apace vnder the conduct of the Earle of *Shrewsburie*, or that  
he

hee stood not well assured of some of his owne company ( which was more likely ) he was well contented to harken vnto peace , so that a truce was taken for some few monthes, and then with no little staine to his reputation he turned back-againe. In October following, the Duke passed ouer againe into *France*, promising his fauorites, that if a peace were not in the meane time concluded with *England*, hee would bring the next Sommer such a warlike crewe of *Frenchmen* and *Germanes*, as that he should not stand in neede of such of his owne Country-men, as were so backe-ward in his former enterprize vpon the borders. In the meane season, King *Henry* thought it no policy to ouerslip so fit oportunitie, because he well perceiued, that whatsoeuer was outwardly pretended, the Regent meant him no good. So soone therefore as the truce was expired, the warre was renewed to the exceeding great damage of that Nation. For *Thomas* Earle of *Surrey* high Admirall of *England*; the *Marquesse Dorset* and his brothers with a competent power entring into *Scotland*, ouerthrew the Castells of *Wederburne*, *West Nesgate* and *Black-acre*, burned neere fortie townes and villages, in which manner wasting the *Scottish* Marches from one side to the other, without any resistance, they returned home with the losse of verie fewe or no men at all, the *Scottes* onelie shewed them-selues  
in



1523.

in troopes a far of, watching if they could haue espied any aduantage. This seruice was thus performed the Sommer following, in the yeare 1523. But the army was no sooner dissolued, but the *Scots* waiting the opportunity, made continual roades into *Northumberland*, to the great annoiance of the inhabitants. Wherefore the Earle of *Surrey* was forth-with sent back againe, who entring into *Scotland* with some six thousand men by the dry marches, cast downe certaine Castells, piles and small holdes, til he came thorowe the dales to *Iedworth*: wherein laie a great garrison of the *Scottes*, who at the first entertained them with a hot skermish, but in the end they were put to flight, and the Town, Castell and Abbaie were taken and spoiled. After three daies abode there, the Earle returned into *England* on the twentieth day of September following.

About this time, the Lord *Dacres* tooke also by force the Castell of *Fernherst*. The Duke of *Albanie* intending now to returne into *Scotland* had intelligence giuen him, that all the portes on the Coast of *France* were watched by the *Englishmen*, to intrappe him in his passage, wherefore hee bestowed his shippes, so couertly here and there in small companies, to auoide all suspition, of any purpose hee had to stirre that yeare, as that therevpon the *English* fleet, which had attended and waited his coming

ming forth, vntill the middest of August, brake vp and bestowed themselves in conuenient portes against the next spring. The Duke then watching the opportunity, and readily gathering together his dispersed shippes, to the number of some fiftie saile, imbarcked his men of warre, being three thousand pikes, and an hundred launces, and about the second equinoc-tiall arriued on the VWest part of *Scotland*, about the same season that *Iedworth* was burned by the *English*, as is a fore-sayd, in whose companie was *Richard de la Poole*, that had beene banished out of *England*. Immediatlie after his returne hee assembled the *Scottish* Lordes at *Edenbrugh*, declaring to them the great loue the *French* King bare to them and there Country, that he esteemed their miseries his owne, and would be alwaies readie to assist them against the *Englishmen*, enemies to them both. That for the present he had brought with him men, money and munition to bee doing withall, so as nothing now wanted but willing mindes and manly corages in themselves. In the ende it was concluded that an army should forth-with be gathered, and the eight and twentieth day of October next was set downe for their meeting at *Dowglas* dale.

The *Scottes* being there assembled, at the day prefixed, the army marched frō thence to *Calder-streame* vpon *Tweed*, where conuaying their  
artillary



artillary ouer the water, on the last day of the same month they layed sledge to *Warke* Castell, which was manfully defended by Sir *William Lisle* Captaine of the same. The assayliants so well bestirred themselves, that on the first daie they won the vttermost ward, for two daies after they continewed the battery, when hauing made the breach assaultable, they entred by maine force the second ward. The Captaine hauing already lost many of his men, and perceiving it little auailed to defend the walles against the great ordinance, vpon a present resolution issued out with his people that remained aliue, and with such furie repulsed the enemy, that beating them from the walles, and pursuing them to the water, he slewe a great number, besides those that were drowned, and died afterwards of their hurt; in the whole to the number of three hundred, which for the most part were *Frenchmen*. The Earle of *Surrey* coming with a great power to rescue this Castell, found the enemy remooued to the further side of the riuer, wherefore hauing no commission to passe the *English* marches, he staied there. In the meane time the Queene sent into *England* to entreat her brother the King, to yeeld to an abstinence of warre, hoping in that time to worke some good agreement betweene the two Nations, wherevnto the King consenting, the armie brake vp and the Earle returned to the Court.

In

In the beginning of the next Sommer anno.  
1524. The *Scottes* beganne againe to bee busie  
both on the East and West marches, so as for  
three monthes fundrie bickrings passed bee-  
tweene the one and other partie, but still they  
came by the worse, in so much that in the end  
they were willing enough to encline to peace:  
wherevpon truce was taken againe till the feast  
of Saint Andrewes next. In the meane season  
great cōsultation was had amongst the Lords of  
*Scotland* whether it were more fit to contineue  
the warre, or to giue it ouer. Many of them held  
it an vnreasonable thing, that for the pleasure  
only of the *French King*, the Realme should sus-  
taine any more damage, by contineuing so need-  
lesse a warre, and that the Duke was much to  
blame in yeelding so farre to the seditious hu-  
mor of *France*: Therefore they wished, that the  
young King (now growne past a Child) might at  
the least beare some sway in the gouernment of  
the Realme. The Duke perceiuing how the  
game went, sawe it little auailed to strite against  
the streame, and therefore in September follo-  
wing, taking his leaue of the young King, he pas-  
sed ouer into *France*, now the third time since he  
was made Regent. It is sayd, that at his depar-  
ture, hee did instantly intreate the Nobility to  
admit no peace with *England* till his returne a-  
gaine, which he promised should be not long af-  
ter, but in both his desire was vnsatisfied, for he  
neuer



neuer came more into *Scotland* neither cōtinew-  
ed the war as he wished. Shortly after the Earle  
*Dowglas*, that had beene banished before by the  
Regent ( as I haue said ) and had hitherto remain-  
ed in *France*, obtained leaue of King *Henrie* to  
passe safely thorowe *England* into his owne  
Country. This fauor was redily graunted, being  
one that was alwaies opposite to the *French* fac-  
tion. *Queene Margaret*, now bearing the grea-  
test sway in *Scotland* sought by all meanes how  
to make firme friendship with her brother of  
*England* & to breake the necke of the amity with  
*France*, which had of late brought so many mise-  
ries vpon her Sonnes kingdome. Neither did  
King *Henry* forget by kind letters and messages,  
to diuerse of that nation, to second therein his  
Sisters designements, signifying vnto them that  
he desired nothing more then perpetuall loue  
and concord betweene the two Neighbor Nati-  
ons, which thing as he had euer before wished,  
yet much more at this time, to the end all men  
might see how much hee tendred the state of  
their Reamle, for the young kings sake his Ne-  
phew. That if they would be perswaded to break  
of friendship with *France*, he could finde in his  
heart to bestow the Lady *Mary* (his only Child)  
in marriage vpon their King, whereby the two  
kingdomes should bee in great possibility to be  
made one Monarchy, and that by the accesse of  
*England* vnto *Scotland* which would be the more  
honor

honor to their nation. That the like emulatio<sup>n</sup> & malice hath bin heretofore known, betweene the like neighbor countries, which neuerthelesse by mariage, entercourse, trafique, & mutual kindnes hath bin vtterly suppressed & buried in obliuion. These exceeding kind offers of King *Henry*, moued much debate, & argument at an assembly of the *Scottish* Lords amongst theselues. On the one side it was obiected, that as *France* was farre remooued by scituation from them, so the people differed much from the *Scottes* in the whole course and manner of life. But the *Englishmen* and they were bred and brought vp vnder one and the same climate, and were so like in there language, lawes, manners, customes, complexion, constitution of bodie, and disposition of minde ( wherein societic especially consisteth ) that it seemed God and Nature had from the beginning purposed to make them one peculiar people, as they hade made there seate one soile, by it selfe, seuered from the maine continent. Further by reason of the distance and dangerous passage betweene *France* & them, the one cannot receiue frō the other either much good being friends, or much harme beeing enemies, whereas out of *England* either the one or other wilbe alwaies ready at hand, accordingly as the *Englishmen* ar friends or foes vnto them. For there is no other waie to walke in, betweene *France* and them, but thorow a dangerous part  
of



of the Ocean, which either by furie of tempests may be hindered, or by the enemy fore-ftawled and clogged. VVhereof was made good prooffe not much aboue a yeare ago, when as the Duke of *Albanie* was so pend vp in *France* with the *English* nauie, that of al one whole Sommer they could receiue no succors from thence, to their exceeding losse and discontentment. Thus much was then alledged in fauour of the league with *England*, whervnto not a few amongst them were well inclined, though many other, that either liued vpon rapine and spoile ( which alwaies followeth war, ) or that were fed afore-hand by the *French* king ( which course hath euer much preuailed with that Nation ) obstinately opposed themselues against this profitable and sound aduise.

But being not able by any shew of reason to maintaine their friuolous allegations against the truth, they subtilly brake of this conference, with this caution, that this weighty point could not be resolued without the general consent and approbation of the Estates assembled to that end. For they were well assured that the Duke ( to whom especially the deciding of this question pertained ) would neuer giue consent to shake hands with *England*, notwithstanding Queene *Margaret* so labored this point, for the benefit ( she knew ) would therof come to her Sonne and his kingdom, that in December following shee  
sent

sent the Lord *Gilbert Earle of Cassels*, *Robert Cockburne* Bishop of *Dunkeld*, and the Abbot of *Combuskeneth* Ambassadors into *England*, who comming to the Court on Christmasse eue, the King gaue them audience, to whom the Bishop made an eloquent Oration in Latine, declaring the benefits of peace, and the manifold commodities of warre. How happy a thing it were, if by the marriage of their young King with the Lady *Mary* his Maiesties Daughter, a perpetuall league and alliance might bee established betweene them. The King liked well of this motion, so as hee might obtaine his desire in two points. First and especially, that the *Scottish Nobility* would renounce the league with *France*: Secondly, that the young king his Nephew, would come and remaine with him in *England*, till he were of perfect age to marry his Daughter. But because the Ambassadors had not commission to proceede so farre, the Earle returned into *Scotland*, to acquaint the Queene and Councell there-with. The two other remained at London till his returne thither againe. Here-vpon a Parliament was presently holden at *Edenbrough*, from whence the Earle of *Cassels* was presentlie sent againe to the King of *England*, with a fauourable answer to his two former demands. But because that in the meane season *Charles* the Emperour renewed his former sute for the obtaining of the sayd Lady to his wife, the King

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tooke



tooke a pawse therein for the present time, prolonging the truce with *Scotland*, for three yeares and a halfe, and then the Ambassadors were all with much courtesie dismissed, about the beginning of the yeare 1525. From hence-forward, for the terme of about seauenteene yeares the league was still renued from time to time betweene the two Nations, though now and then the borderers on both sides (thorow the instigation of the Earle *Dowglass*, forsaken then of the Queene his wife, and banished the realme againe) made some out-roades one into the others Marches. But all was quietly put vp, and the two kings continued good neighbours one to the other.

1534. In the beginning of the yeare 1534. amongst other proffers of marriage, propounded by *Charles* the Emperour vnto king *James* (who was desirous to match in his bloud) a motion was made of his cousine *Germaine*, the Ladye *Mary* king *Henryes* Daughter and Heire, who (as before you haue heard) had beene in question, but now for the space well neere of ten yeares had lien dead, and no further dealt in. King *James* answered in such sort, as there-by it seemed that hee had a good will to hearken vnto it.

This Lady (that was afterward Queene of *England*) was once in speach (as is before declared) to haue beene marryed to the Emperour him-

himselfe: after that to *Francis* the *French* king. But these motions were rather made (I take it) in policie, then proceeding of any such meaning in eyther of those Princes, neyther happily had the King her Father any such purpose, thinking her a fitter matche for his Nephew of *Scotland*, then for eyther of them. For in the latter end of this yeare, the King sent thither the Bishop of *Saint Davies*, and the Lord *William Howard*, brother to the Duke of *Norffolke*, to intreate king *James* to appoint some time, when the King their Maister and hee might meete together, to conferre of matters of great importance, tending much to the benefit of both the Realmes. Further to tell him, that it might come to passe (if all things else sorted to his liking) hee should espouse the Lady *Mary* his eldest Daughter (for his other Daughter the Lady *Elizabeth* after her sister Queene of *England* also was borne aboue a yeare before,) and with-all to make him thereby the Monarch ouer the whole Island, if hee dyed with-out issue male.

And to the end hee should giue the more trust and credit to these his promises, hee said more-ouer, that hee would forth-with intitle him Duke of *Yorke*, and his Vicar Generall ouer the whole realme of *England*. King *James* (as he had great reason so to do) intertained these offers with great thankfulnessse, appointing



a time, when he would meete the King his Vncle, and so with many courtisies disinisled the Ambassadors. All this notwithstanding, he was so exceedingly laboured by his Prelates, that they drew him quite from that resolution, vpon this occasion. A little before this Ambassage, King *Henry* had sent the foresaid Bishop into *Scotland* with certaine *English* pamphlets, concerning reformation of religion: which being presented vnto his nephew, with request that he would aduisedly read them ouer, hee gaue them presently to some about him to keepe, that were especial fauorers of the Clergie, and the religion of those times, who had scantly turned ouer the first leafe, but with open mouth they condemned those bookes, for most impious & hereticall libels, telling the king, they were glad from their hearts, that he had not stained his eies with the very view of such pestiferous and damnable doctrine. And for an infallible prooffe of this their censure vpon those bookes, it fell out about the same time, that the Pope had sent a messenger into *Scotland*, requiring king *James* to ioyne with him against the king of *England*, whom hee had already adiudged an Hereike, a Scismaticke, and a wedlock-breaker, for hee and Queene *Katherine*, some-times his Brothers wife, for the vnlawfulnessse thereof, were then lawfully parted. And further this *Nuncio* declared, that for these heynous offences, the Pope had depriued him

him of his kingdome, which he bestowed (for in such cases hee hath beene alwaies very liberall) vnto *James* and other popish Princes his obedient sonnes. Thus by the subtile practise of the Priests, who to vphold their reputation in the world, still buzzed in their kings eares, that his Vncle sought nothing more by this his desired conference with him, but to withdraw him from the profession of that ancient and Catholique religion, wherein their Fathers and fore-elders had liued so many hundred yeares together, in great happinesse and felicitie, and withall being of him-selfe religiously giuen, according to the knowledge of those ignorant times, hee was the more easilie dissuaded from this promised meeting. Though King *Henry* had cause to take this part vnkindly at the others hands, neuer-the-lesse hee was contented to put it vp, imputing the fault to them especially, that eyther of ignorance, or vpon respect of their perticuler good, neglected the benefit that might haue followed heereof vnto the weale publique of the whole Iland.

King *Henry* to shew how little hee was moued with this manner of dealing, bestowed on his Nephew the yeare following the Garter, and according to the ceremonies thereto belonging, he was installed at *Windsor* by his procurator the Lord *Erskin*. Within the compasse of the other seauen yeares remaining of my



former account, king *James* had marryed two  
wiues out of *France*. The former was the Lady  
*Magdaline*, eldest Daughter to king *Francis*, with  
whom hauing beene married halfe a yeare, shee  
deceased, within little more then a moneth after  
her arriual in *Scotland*. The second, was Daugh-  
ter to the Duke of *Guise*, and widdow to the  
Duke of *Longeuille* lately deceased. Within a  
yeare after this latter mariage, Queene *Marga-  
ret* ( his mother ) departed this life, hauing  
first seene a young Prince ( her grand-child )  
borne into the world, but neither hee, nor a se-  
cond sonne, liued to succeed their father in the  
kingdome. King *Henry* knowing how much his  
Nephew was continually wrought, to breake off  
friendship with him, or at the least to vse the  
same for his owne aduantage onely, was much  
affraide that happily hee might at length bee se-  
duced, and therefore was very desirous to haue  
conference with him, and to establisth the league  
that hitherto had continued betweene them.  
To this end he once againe sent into *Scotland*, to  
entreate him to meete him at *Torke*, where hee  
would communicate such matter with him, as  
tended greatly to the good of both realmes.  
This messenger thus deliuered by the Lord *Tho-  
mas Howard*, King *James* and diuerse of his No-  
bilitie, seemed willing enough to yeeld their  
consents to this iourney. But contrariwise the  
Prelates mightily opposed them-selues against  
it.

it. Amongst other things, they alleadged that King *Henry* went about (which touched their free hold) to perswade their King to take that course in *Scotland*, which hee had done at home in his owne kingdome: namely, to expell the Pope, to vsurpe his authoritie ouer the Church, to dissolue religious houses, and to seize vpon their lands and reuenues. But rather then hee should bee drawne to vse any such vnlawfull meanes, where-with to supplye his present wants, they freely offered to giue him yearely, out of their owne reuenues, thirtie thousand Crownes: and if that would not serue his turne, they would vnder-take to aduantage him an hundred thousand more yearely, out of the lands and possessions of them, that were already false from their due obedience to the sea of *Rome*. These faire promises preuailed so much with King *James*, that this meeting was also auoyded. But with-all an Ambassadour was immediatly sent into *England*, as well to excuse the King, as to require that Commissioners might bee appointed of either partie, to meete for the ordering of some controuersies then depending betweene the two Nations, which was granted, and performed accordingly on King *Henries* part. Neuer-the-lesse, when after sundry iniuries still offered by the *Scottes*, the King of *England* had once or twice yeelded to all reasonable conditions, and yet not-with-standing,



perceiued how little from time to time they were regarded: at the length, being not able to indure so many indignities, he resolved to end all controuerfies by open warre. But first, to the end it might appeare to the world, how vnwillingly he was prouoked vnto it: before hee would take armes against his neere kinsman, hee caused a pamphlet to bee published in Print, declaring what mooued, or rather compelled him there-vnto; wherein hee charged King *James* especially with deepe dissimulation, his words tasting of Honey, but his deeds of Worme-wood. After a serious complaint whereof, he descendeth, or rather ascendeth to a supposed title of Superioritie; continued in a lineall succession of the Kings of *England*, ouer that nation, from *Edward* the first (sonne to *Alured* king of *England*) for aboue fixe hundred yeares together, but hereof I haue spoken enough before. This done, a Nauie was sent to the Sea, to take all such *Scottish* ships as fell into their walke, of which they brought into the Portes of *England* eight and twentie, fraught with many good commodities.

The *Scottish* King here-vpon sent into *England*, to demand rellitutation, seeing no warre was as yet proclaimed. But king *Henry* answered, that hee had no reason to yeeld there-vnto, till such time, as recompence was made for the harme his subjects had sustained on the borders.

In the meane season he had also prepared an army of some twenty thousand men, and committed the same to the conduct of the Duke of *Norfolke*, accompanied with the Earles of *Shrewsbury*, *Darby*, *Cumberland*, *Surrey*, *Hertford*, *Angus*, *Rutland*, and diuerse other Lords and Gentlemen of the North. King *James* hauing knowledge of this preparation entreated to haue all differences and complaints on both sides put to order, and so taken vp.

VVherevpon the King caused his army to stay about *Yorke*, appointing the Duke, the Lord priuy seale, and others, to enter into conference with the *Scottish* Ambassodours, and if possible they could to end all controuersies, whereby to auoide the effusion of much bloud. But when the Commissioners for *England*, perceiued that the *Scottes* sought onely to detract time, whereby to put of the warre for that yeare (winter now approaching) they breake of the treaty, and hauing assembled the whole armie, therewith entred into *Scotland* the twentieth day of October in the yeare 1542. During there abode there, diuerse townes and villages were burned and spoiled, and hauing continued that course, as long as their victualls held out, the armie returned to *Berwicke* the nine and twentieth daie of the same month, without resistance or show of enemie, although King *James* had then in readinesse (as it is sayd) an armie of thirrie thousand

1542.



thousand men, incamped at *Fallamure*, but foure-  
teene miles within *Scotland*. But whether it  
was, that they waited some aduantage, or  
that the *Scottish* Nobility were not so forward  
(which is pretended) as their King would haue  
had them, nothing was attempted against *Eng-  
land*, vntill the foure and twentieth day of No-  
uember following, by which time the Duke was  
well on his way towards *London*. For then king  
*James* went him selfe vnto the VVest marches of  
*Scotland*, where he appointed the Lord *Maxwell*  
his warden, together with the Earles of *Cassels*  
and *Glencorne*, and certaine other Lords there  
with him to inuade *England* on that side. This  
army consisting of fifteene thousand men passed  
ouer the water of *Eske*, and burnt certaine hou-  
ses of the *Grenes* on the verie border. Herevpon  
*Thomas* bastard *Dacres*, and *Iacke* of *Musgrane*,  
with an hundred light horses made towards the  
emie, hauing a while before sent to *Sir Tho-  
mas Wharton* (Lord warden of those Marches,)  
to make all the hast hee could after them. By  
that time these two valiant Captaines had be-  
gun the skirmish, the Lord *Wharton* with some  
three hundred horse more, were come within  
viewe of the *Scottish* host, who supposing that  
the Duke, or some other of the *English* Lords  
was turned backe againe with the whole armie,  
(otherwise they imagined those few would ne-  
uer haue aduentured so desperatly to set vpon  
them

them) were with the suddenesse of this vnexpected flight put into such a *Panick* feare, that forth-with committing themselues to flight, as fast as their legges could carrie them, or their horses vnder them, they were pursued and taken, without any resistance. Amongst whom these following were the principal men. The Earles of *Cassels* and *Glencorne*, the Lord *Maxwel*, the Lord *Flemming*, the Lo. *Sommerwel*, the Lord *Oliphant*, the Lord *Gray*, Sir *Oliuer Sinclair* the kings minion, *John Rosse* of *Gragie*, *Robert Aesken* Sonne to the Lord *Aesken*, the Lord *Maxwells* two brothers, and aboue two hundred men of name more. Of the common souldiers not so few as eight hundred, so as some one *Englishman* had three or foure prisoners to his share. The *Scottes* lost at this blow without anie bloudshed on either partie, twentie peeces of Ordinance, foure Carr-loades of speares, and tenne pavilions. Thus wee see, that the King of Heauen and Earth can, and will daunt, the courage of man, when it seemeth good vnto him, to the end we should acknowledge him to be the only giuer of all victory. The *Scottish* writers attribute the bad successe of their armie at this meeting, to the vnadvised course, which King *James* tooke in appointing a meane Gentleman (Sir *Oliuer Sinclair*) his Lieutenant generall ouer the same. For, vpon the hearing of the Kings Commission openlie read, the whole armie was

so



so much offended and troubled thereat, that it wrought a great confusion amongst them; which beeing obserued of the *Englishmen* though they were but a handfull in comparison of the enemies power yet they were therewith so much incouraged, that they aduentured manfully vpon them, and put them al thereby to flight. This discomfeiture chaunced vnto the *Scottes* at *Salloway Mosse*, in the latter end of November following, and was the most admirable victory, that euer was had ouer them, to bee wholly referred to the immediat hand of God, howsoeuer they would excuse it. King *James* being now at *Garlandcrocke* vpon the borders, was inuicelously perplexed at the newes herof, in so much as being ouer-come with an extreame melancholy passion, he neuer after held vp his head, but still languished till death had fully seized vpon him, on the twentieth day of December following. In the meane season, one and twenty of the chiefe prisoners were conuaid to *London*, & committed to the Towre the 19. day of the same month, where hauing remained two daies, they were carried thorow the streets to *Westminster*, two and two together in a ranck. Eight of them being Noblemen, were apparellled at the Kings charge, with new gownes of black damask, furd with blacke conie, coates of black veluet, and dublets of fatten, & else whatsoever belonged thereto. Then they were brought before the Counsel,  
ring

sitting at the Star-chamber, where the Lord Chancellour rebuked them openly for their misdemeanour towards the King and Realme, declaring that his Maiesty had good cause to make warre vpon them. First for their dissimulation in all their treaties of peace. Then for keeping his subiects in durance without redemption, contrary to the ancient lawes of the Marches. And lastly for inuading his dominions without open defiance, or iust cause giuen on his Maiesties part. Neuerthelesse that his Maiestie more regarding his honour, then his Royall power, was contented to render good for euill, and curtisie for vnkindnesse. For whereas hee might by lawe of armes (as they knewe well enough) shut them vp in close prison, hee was contented that they should bee committed to the custodie of the Nobles of his land, that were thought meet to take that charge vpon them, according to their owne feuerall estates and degrees. Then beeing dismissed thence, they were forth-with bestowed with one Noble man or other accordingly, of whom they had such curtious intertainment, as that they themselves confessed, they neuer liued more pleasantly at any time before. On the twentieth of December newes was brought to the Court of the *Scottish* Kings death. King *Henry* and his Counsell conceiuing herevpon, that a good meane was offred whereby without warre the two Realmes might  
be



be vnited, intimated their meaning to the *Scottish* Lords, who seeming very willing therein to gratifie the King, were brought to the Court in *Christ-masse* holie daies, where they were lodged, feasted, and entertained most louingly. There (as of themselues) they motioned a marriage betweene Prince *Edward* the Kings Sonne now little more then fife yeares olde, and their young *Queene*, that was borne some fife or fixe daies before the death of the King her Father, promising withall to do there best to bring the same to passe. King *Henrie* gaue them great thanks for their forwardnesse therein, and was not onelie contented to set them freelie at libertie, but also bestowed large presentes on euery man according to his degree. On New-yeares daie they departed from *London* home-wardes, and dined at *Esfield*, where they sawe the young Prince, of whome they seemed greatlie to reioyce both in speach and countenance. From thence they kept on their iorney, till they came into the North-partes, where the Duke of *Suffolke* ( the Kings Lieutenant ) staied for their comming, with whome they remained till such pledges were come out of *Scotland* as was before couenanted they should leaue behind them. VVith them went also the Earle of *Angus*, who together with his brother Sir *George Douglas*, had allowance for their maintenance of King *Henrie*, while they remained  
in

in *England*, after their exile, the space of fifteene yeares. The *Scottish* King, while hee liued had labored the deliuerance of the Earle who now vpon his returne home was made one of the priiue Counsell, amongst other of the Lordes that had beene lately prisoners here, by the Earle of *Araine*, Gouvernour of the young Queene and of the Realme, and next heire to the Crowne, according to the custome of that Countrie. Shortly after Sir *Robert Bowes* and some other *English* prisoners were deliuered by their bandes, after the manner of the Marches.

In March following, Sir *Ralfe Sadler*, (who died a graue Couſellor in the raigne of Queene *Elizabeth*) being sent Ambassadour into *Scotland* came thither some-what before the Parliament. His errand was to perswade the Gouvernor to giue his consent with the other Lords, to the mariage propounded lately by them, and that withall a firme peace might be concluded vpon betweene the two Nations. These pointes were long debated, but in conclusion (after that *Dauid Beaton* Cardinall and Archbishop of *Saint Andrewes*, the *French* factor, was remooued from the assemblie) generallie yeelded vnto and confirmed. And further pleadges were promised to be sent into *England* for the better assurance thereof.

The Ambassador staying still behind to see  
euery



euerie thing performed, according to promise,  
 on the behalfe of the *Scottish* Lordes, the Earle  
 of *Glencorne*, Sir *George Dowglas*, Sir *William*  
*Hamiltone*, Sir *James Leirmonth* and the Secre-  
 tarie were sent into *England*, as well to con-  
 firme, as to report what had beene established  
 by act of Parliament, concerning the marriage  
 intended with *England*. These men remained  
 here from the ende of March till the ende of  
 Iulie following: in which time the marriage be-  
 tweene Prince *Edward* of *England* and the infant  
 of *Scotland* was fullie confirmed, by wrytings  
 enterchangable signed and sealed, and a peace  
 concluded, for ten yeares. These things thus  
 passed in the yeare of Lord 1543. The *Scot-*  
*ish* Marchantes were not a little glad (after  
 their long restraint) of their free libertie of  
 trafique, wherevpon they presently dispatched  
 their shippes to the sea, so as in short time  
 neuer a port well-neere in *England* was without  
 some of them, to the exceeding great ioye of  
 both Realmes. But this calme lasted not long,  
 for now beganne *France* after their olde fashion,  
 to stirre vp certaine seditious and dispightfull  
 spirits, which like vnto the curssed spirits of  
 the ayre breathed out tempestious and boiste-  
 rous blastes, where-with to darken and disturbe  
 the former Sun shine and quiet season. For  
 before the yeares ende, thorough the practize  
 of the Cardinall, *John Hamiltone*, brother  
 to

to the Gouvernour, and *David Paynter*, which two last ( men of most dissolute conuersation ) came lately out of *France* for that purpose the *Scottes* were so wonderfully wrought, that both the Gouvernour himselfe and all they that had so lately before vowed themselves and there seruice to King *Henry* were now againe become wholly *French*, for these reasons. First by this mariage, it would come to passe (as they objected that the *Scottish Nobility* should grow into contempt being far inferiour in wealth and possessions to the Lords of *England* and further removed by habitation from the Kings presence, who (no doubt) would make the most firtil and commdious part of *England* Southwards the place of his residence ordinarily. But that which more nearely touched them, was the eminent daunger, wherein to Religion would be thereby brought, the preservation whereof they were bound to prefer before either lands or liues, that the state whereinto *England* was persently falne, might be a sufficient warning vnto them, who already were but ouer much inclined that way (for about that time the Gouener had incora- ged Frier *Guillan*, openly to preach against Images and foolish ceremonies, giuing liberty that who would might reade the bible in *Eng- lish* which about three yeares before was openly read in very Church in *England* and was the very bane and breake necke of Popery, thorowe



out the whole Iland. As for their promise made to King *Henry*, they were perswaded, ther was no cause why they should sticke at that, seeing it was lately decreed in the Counsell of *Constance*, that no couenant or promise how constantly soeuer made, ought to bee kept with an heretike, such as the Pope had already iudged him to bee. The Earle of *Casseles* onely continued constant, though he was attempted both by faire meanes and foule to the contrary, for hee hauing two brothers his pledges in *England*, protested, that he would neuer redeeme ether his liberty or life with the losse of them: wherefore at his returne into *England* the King much commended the young gentlemans resolution, and in acquittall therfore set both him & his brothers at liberty, King *Henry* could not brooke this manner of dealing, but resolving to be fully reuenged, he first caused all the shippes of *Scotland* (whereof there were good store) to be presently staid till his pleasure was further knowne: then proclaiming open war, he forthwith made preparation to inuade *Scotland* by land and sea. The Queene Mother, the regent, and the Cardinall, beeing all like affected, solicited King *Francis* to minister aide against *England*. But the monie that that was thereupon sent them, and deliuered to the Earle of *Lenox* to bee imployed to that end, was by him detayned, by reason of some iarres then a mongst them-selues, which brought him  
out

out of fauour with the *French* King, who before had vsed him, as a speciall instrument on his side.

King *Henry* in the meane season, hauing not beene slow in his businesse, thought good neuer-the-lesse, to make triall whether vpon better aduiselements the *Scottes* would yeelde to some reasonable conditions: wherefore he sent his letters to *Edenbrough*, fraught with many iust complaints, and bitter threats, but all preuailed not: wher-vpon proceeding in his former course, and hauing furnished his Naue with all things needfull, he committed the charge therof to the Earle of *Hertford*, Sir *John Dudley*, Lord *Lisle* high Admirall of *England*, and the Earle of *Shrewsbury*, accompanied with the Lord *Cobham*, *Clinton*, *Coniers*, *Sturton*, the Lord *William Howard*, with many valiant Knights and Gentlemen. The whole Nauy consisted of two hundred shippes, and in them some ten thousand men of warre. Loosing from New-Castell, and entring the *Scottish* Sea betweene the two Ilands the *Basse* and the *Maye*. The next day they passed vp the *Firthe* (being the fourth of *Maye*) landing the whole Armie at New-hauen, two miles aboue *Leith*.

The Lord Admirall lead the fore-ward, the Lord Lieutenant the maine battaile, & the Earle of *Shrewesburie* the rere-ward. The Lord Gouvernor being then at *Edenbrough*, accompanied with



the Cardinal, the Earle of *Huntley*, *Arguile*, *Bothwell*, and others, with some sixe thousand horsemen and footemen, purposed to inpeach their passage. At the first they made shewe to set vpō the vantgard, but being assayled by five hundred harquebutters, and shroudly galled, after a light skirmish they made a sodaine retraite but with such speed as they leaft their artillary behind them, The *Scottes* returned to *Edenbrugh*, and the *Englismen* kept their course to *Lieth*: entring the towne without any great resistance, they lodged therein that night to their best aduantage. The next day they landed their victuals and great artillary. Hither the Lord Gouverner sent *Adam Otterburne* prouost of *Edenbrugh*, with two of the baylifes, to know of the Earle of *Hertford* the cause of his coming offering that what wrong soeuer the *Englismen* had receaued of them, should be satisfied to their full contentment and that vpon those tearmes he would gladly receaue him into the towne. The Earle answered that he had no commission to treat of peace, but he was sent thither to take reuenge on those, that had falsified their faith vnto the King his maister, and therefore purposed to visit there towne in such manner, as happily they would nor like of, and soe he bad him tel the Gouverner. Vpon the returne of this answere the Gouvernour taking order for the defence of the Castell departed immediately to *Sterling*. The sixt of  
May

May, the army marched towards *Edenbrugh*, at the approach whereof the *Prouost* (accompanied with one or two *Burgesses* and some officers of armes) desired to speake with the lieutenant: being brought to his presence, he offered vnto him the keies of the towne on condition that the inhabitants might safely passe out with bag and baggage, & the buildings preserved from fire. Answer was made, that he was sent thither to take reueng (as before) and therefore vnlesse they would yeeld vp the towne simply without condition, & cause Men, Women & Childrē to issue forth into the fields, & submit themselues to his will & pleasure, he would proceed against them with all extremity. The *Prouost* replied, that they would rather stand to their defence, & so departed. The *Englishmen* comming to the Cow-gate beat it open with their great ordinance, entred and slewe diuerse that made resistance: forthwith the great ordinance was drawn vp the high street within reach of the shot from the Castell, so as a culluering was dismounted, and the *English* forced to retire, not without some losse of men, night drawing on, they departed to there camp at *Leith*, for three dayes following they continued firing the towne, and consumed a great part there-of. In the meane season foure thousand light horse-men were brought by land (as was appointed) from the Borders by the Lord *Eeuers*, who ioyning with the armie at



*Leith* did such exploits, that well neere they left neither pile, village, nor house vnburned within seuen miles of *Edenbrough*, besides the spoile, pillage, and droues of Cattell, that was euery daye brought to the Campe. Hauing thus wrought their wills there-about, they shipped their Artillarie and booties, carried away such ships as they found in the Hauen, of which the principall were the *Salamander* ( giuen by the *French* King at the mariage of his Daughter ) and the other ( called the *Vnicorne* ) made by the last king. These two were ballanced with Cannon shot, which was found in the towne, to the number of foure-score thousand peeces: the rest, as well *Scottish* as *English*, for the more part were loden with the spoile and booties belonging to the common souldiers and mariners. On the fifteenth day of this month, both the army by land, and the fleet, departed from *Lieth* in one houre, leauing the towne on fire, which was burned to the ground. The armie returning home-wards encamped that night at *Seaton*, seauen miles from *Lieth*, where they burned the Castell, and (for more dispight) destroyed the gardens and Orchards, because the Lord *Seaton* ( owner of the same ) had beene the Cardinals best friend, when hee was in prison. The next night they incamped besides *Dunbar*, where they had an alarme giuen them. In the morning they burned the towne, and marching forwards, they were some-

somewhat staied in the way by reason of a grose foggie mist; and a report that the Lord *Seaton* and the Lord *Hume*, had assembled a powre, where-with to impeach their passage at a strait called the *Pease*. But when the day cleared about two of the clocke in the after-noone, the armie setting forward, passed the straite without shew of enemie, that would not abide their comming. That night the armie lodged at *Rantton* 8. miles from the borders, from whence the next day (being the 28. of May) they came to *Berwick*, hauing lost in all this iorney not aboue forty persons, for which happy successe they rendred thanks to almighty God the giuer of all victorie. The names of the chiefe townes, castels & buildings burned and ouer-throwne in this voyage, are as followeth

<i>Edenbrough the Abbey</i>	<i>Skam house.</i>
<i>and the Kings house.</i>	<i>The Ficket.</i>
<i>Cragmiller and Castell.</i>	<i>Beuerton.</i>
<i>Preston and the Castell.</i>	<i>Tranent.</i>
<i>Sengclers Castell.</i>	<i>Shenstone.</i>
<i>Lawresson &amp; the Grange.</i>	<i>Saint Minees.</i>
<i>Markley.</i>	<i>Petinwames part.</i>
<i>Wester-grange.</i>	<i>Lieth, the Hauen &amp; Pile.</i>
<i>Enderliegh.</i>	<i>New Bottle Abbey.</i>
<i>Broughton.</i>	<i>Musselbrough some part.</i>
<i>Chester-field.</i>	<i>Haddington Frieries.</i>
<i>Craton-end.</i>	<i>Dumbar.</i>
<i>Dudistone.</i>	<i>Drilawe.</i>



Trapren.	Quickwood.
Kirkland hill.	Blackburne.
Hatherwike.	Ranton.
Belton.	Bildie,
East Barnes.	All Knikorne.
Bowcland.	The Queenes Ferrie.
Butlerden.	The brent land.

The five lowest were burned by the fleet at sea, for while the armie lay at *Leethe*, the ships were not idle, but scouring the riuer vp and downe on both sides, well neere as high as *Sterling*, aboue fiftie miles from the maine sea, they made what spoile they could of what-so-euer fell in their way: while the Earle lay at *Leethe* he made these knights, whose names follow.

The Lord Clinton.	Sir Richard Leigh.
The Lord Coniers.	Sir Iohn Leigh.
Sir William Wroughton.	Sir Lawrence Smith.
Sir Thomas Holcroft.	Sir William Vauasour.
Sir Edward Dorrell.	Sir Richard Shirburne.
Sir Iohn Luttrell.	Sir Robert Stapleton.
Sir Iohn Ienins.	Sir Thomas Holt.
Sir Thomas Waterton.	Sir William Dauenport.
Sir Charles Howard.	Sir Ralphe Leycester.
Sir George Blant.	Sir Humfrey Bradborne.
Sir Peter Mewtas.	Sir Thomas Maluerie.
Sir Edward Warner.	Sir Francis Hothome.
Sir Ralfe Bulmer.	Sir Iohn Massie.
Sir Hugh Cholmeley.	Sir Leonard Beckwith.
Sir Thomas Lee.	Sir Thomas Cokanie.

Sir Peter

Sir Peter Freshwell.	Sir Iohn Clere.
Sir Richard Egerton.	Sir Richard Holland.
Sir Anthonie Neuille.	Sir Thomas Venable.
Sir Iohn Neuille.	Sir Iohn Conneſtable.
Sir William Radcliffe.	Sir Edmund Trafford.
Sir George Bowes.	Sir Iohn Atherton.
Sir Vrian Brereton.	Sir Richard Cholmeley.
Sir William Brereton.	Sir Philip Egerton.
Sir Roger Brereton.	Sir Hugh Willobie.
Sir Edward Warren.	Sir Thomas Conneſtable.
Sir Brian Leytone.	Sir William Woodhouse.
Sir Robert Worſeley.	Sir Edmund Saunge.
Sir Thomas Talbot.	Sir Thomas Gerard.
Sir Hugh Caluerley.	

11. May. 1544.

1544.

Mathew Earle of Lennox, being now wrought out of fauour with the French king, by the practise of the Queene Mother and the Cardinall, thought Scotland no safe place for him, & therefore to make himselfe the more able to resist the malice of his enemies at home, he made meanes to be entertained of the King of England. Taking therefore the sea, with some other Noblemen of his country, he arrived at Westchester about Midſomer folowing. From thence (hauing first made his way to the King) he repaired to the Court, where being well entertained, he married shortly after the Lady Margaret Douglas, daughter and heire to the Earle of Angus by Queene Margaret of Scotland king Henries sister, who therupon endowed



endowed his Neece with an estate of inheritāce of certaine lands, to the yearly valewe of seauenteene hundred markes, of rent of assise which to this day are called *Lennox* Lands. From this coople descended two sonnes. *Henry Steward* Lord *Dernley* (the eldest) was Father to *James* the sixt that now reigneth. *Mathew* the other Brother married *Elizabeth Candish*, Daughter to the Countesse of *Shrewsbury* (the most famous builder (of a woman) in the world, by whom he had onely issue the Lady *Arbella*, (a beautifull plant) trayned vp (as I heare) by the Countesse her grand-mother, in all commendable qualities, and exercises of vertue and piety. King *James*, in regard of his iust title and claime to these lands, receiueth of the *Queenes* maiesty that now is an yearely pension. The Earle of *Lennox* being desirous to show his good will to do the King some acceptable seruice, obtrayning certaine bands of *Englishmen* entred into *Scotland* but he found not that constancy in his Countrymen that he expected, and therefore was inforced to returne without atchieuing his principal purpose; though his labour was not all-together lost, for he raised and tooke diuerse Castells, as that in the Ile of *Arraine* belonging to the Governor, & the Castell of *Rossey* in the Ile of *Bute*, from whence the royall family of the *Stewards* (Kings of *Scotland*, now for the space of two hundred and thirty yeares) tooke their beginning.

Though

Though King *Henry* at this time also maintayned sharpe war with *France*, neuerthelesse hee ceased not to take the oportunity offred him, thorow the ciuill dissention amongst the *Scottish* Nobility, making continual roads & forreis into their Countries. About the midst of February following, Sir *Ralph Eeuers*, Lord warden of the middle Marches entred *Scotland* with foure thousand *English*, *Irish*, & assured *Scots*, passing to *Iedworth* without any resistance. He vnderstood there, that the gouerner with the Earle of *Angus* were lately come to the Abbay *Melrosse*, about 8, miles distant frō thence, purposing thereto attēd the repaire of their forces, hastning thetherward. Sir *Ralph* therefore (about mid night) marching from thence, hoped vpon the sudden to take them at some great aduantage, beeing as yet ouer fewe to make resistance. But the *Scottes* hauing knowledge by their Espialls, of his approach, (though some-what to late) forfooke their lodgings, before they had good wills to arise, & leauing bag & baggage behind thē, in all hast they withdrew thēselues to the next mountaines, frō thence to obserue the behauior of the *English*, who finding the place abandoned, tooke the spoile of al they foud in the towne & Abbay, vitterly defacing the Monumēts of th' *Douglasses*, greatly to the displeasure of the Earle of *Angus* & his linage, and so returned back towards *Iedworth*: by this time thenūber of the *Scots* was wel increased,



increased, by the repaire of *Norman Lisle*, Sonne to the Earle of *Rothsey* (a young Gentleman of good expectation) and of *Walter Scot* with such troopes as accompanied thē thither, in so much as the Gouverner was encoraged to giue the *Englishmen* battaile before they should reach *Iedworth*, but because they trusted not altogether to their strength, it was deuised, that the maine battaile of the *Scottes* should lie closely in a vallie, to receiue the *Englishmen* at vnawares, which tooke effect accordingly. For the *Scottes* sending all their horses with their keepers, and those that might best be spared, to the top of the hil, vnder which they were embattailed, the *Englishmen* were trained within their danger, which beeing perceiued by these *Scots* that came on their side, (who were some 7. or 8. hundred) they presently fel of and ioyned with the enemy. The *Englishmen* neuerthelesse stuck to it, till a great number of thē were slaine, the rest beeing ouerwried with that daies and the last nights trauell, betooke themselves to flight. The middle battaile seeing their fellowes thus discomfited, they also turned and brake into the reereward in such confused manner, as thereby the whole army was put out of order, no man knowing whom to follow for his Captaine. The *Scottes* in the meane time taking the aduantage of the winde and the Sunne, were vpon them before they could well discerne what they were. In  
this

this confusion, euery man sought to saue himselfe, whereof insued a great slaughter with very small losse on the other side. Besids Sir *Rafe Euers*, the Lord of *Ogle* and Sir *Brian Layton*, who were chiefe Commanders, diuers other gentlemen were slaine, in the whole number of two hundred, a thousand were taken prisoners well nere, of whom some foure score were men of qualitie and speciall note. Though the benefit of this victory fell to the Gouvernor, the glory thereof redounded to the *Dowglasses*. King *Henry* was much greeued for the gentleman Sir *Rafe Euers*, whose seruice had bene such in these late warrs with the *Scottes*, that he had brought the more part of all those, that inhabited within twenty miles of the borders of *Eng.* vnto the obedience of King *Henry*, who now were the chiefe cause of his destruction in manner as you haue heard. This yeare the *French* King sent *Mongomery* into *Scotland* with foure thousand *Frenchmen*, of whome fiae hundred were lances, these ioyning with the *Scottes*, to the number of fiftene thousand in the whole, came to the borders, encamping ouer against *Warke* Castle, from whence passing ouer the riuer euery other day, they entred into the *English* marches and returned backe againe at night, with such booties as they got: In this manner hauing praied vpon the inhabitants fiae or fixe miles compasse, for the space of a weeke to gether, vnder-



vnderstanding that the Earle of *Hertford*, (lieutenant ouer the *North* parts ) had taken such order for the defence of those countries, that it auailed not to attempt any further inuasion at that time, they returned home into *Scotland*. The next summer was spent with continuall light incurfions of the borderers on both sides, with variable successe on either party. The taking of *Robert Maxwell* (a gallant young Gentleman, eldest sonne to the Lord *Maxwell*) was of greatest note. At the approach of winter, *Montgomery* (hauing first by commission from the king his Maister, inuested the gouernor and the Earles of *Angus*, *Huntley* & *Arguile*, with the honorable order of the *Michell* (wherof he was himselfe a companion) returned into *France*. Though these two nations sought to molest one the other, yet in one thing ( in persecuting the true seruants of God ) they agreed ouer-well. For albeit K. *Henry* had lately banished the vsurped Supremacie of the bishop of *Rome*, & also had published the *New Testament* in *English*, (a good preparatiue to the reformation that followed in his sonnes daies : yet it pleased not the Lord to enlighten his vnderstanding so farr, as by his Ministry to giue the Gospell free passage in all the principall points of the true Religion. Hereof it came to passe, that as well in the one as other nation, the professors of the gospel were cruelly persecuted, especially for denying the reall and carnall presence of our *Sauour Iesus Christ* (whom the father hath placed farre aboue  
the

the earth, at his right hand in heauen) to be in the holy Sacrament of his last supper. For about this time, *George Wishart* a *Scottish* Minister, a man of speciall account for the purity of his life & doctrine, was conuicted before the *Cardinall*, and by him conuicted of herisie (as the truth was then called) finally burned at *S. Andrews*, ouer-against the Castel (where he was imprisoned) within ten weekes after, on the 16. of *Iuly*; 1546. *Anne Ayscu* x 54 6. one of the two daughters of Sir *William Ayscu* of *Lincolnshire*, being not aboue 25. yeares old, for the defence of the same truth, was first most barbarously tormented on the rack, & then (not preuailing that way) burned with others in *Smithfield* at *London*. These saints of God, the two first of speciall marke (he for the reputatiō of his life and learning, and she for the respect of her birth and education) that in this Iland gaue their liues for the truth, left behind them a more notorious remembrance of their christian ends, by the strang predictions that accompanied the same. For whē this man of God (the flame now ready to incompassse him) was comforted by the Captaine of the Castell his keeper, and put in minde to call vpon *GOD*, answered againe, that though these fierie flames are greeuous to flesh & bloud, yet my spirit is nothing there-with dismaid: but he that so proudly sitteth yonder ouer-against vs (meaning the Cardinal that was placed in a window of the Castell to behold this spectacle) shall within few dayes lye on the ground, no lesse reprochfully then



then now he doth aduance himselfe arrogantly, which within foure monthes after came to passe when as the Cardinall was murthered by certaine of his owne clientes and followers, in the same place, and his dead carcas showed out at the same windowe, where lately before he was placed, in great pompe at the martirdome of *George Wisbart*. Mine aunt *Anne*, after many threats and great search made for her by the prelates her persecutors, was by casual intercepting of her owne letter discouered, and so vnwillingly deliuered into ther bloody hands, by him, that both loued her and the religion which she professed, but was neuer the lesse ouer come with feare (for hee had much to lose least happily by concealing what was knowne he knew, he might so haue brought himself into trouble thus much flesh and blood preuailed with him, which often hath such powre euen ouer the most regenerat, that the Apostle *Paule* saith of himselfe, what I would that I doe not: but what I hate euen that I doe, from the time he had leaft her with them, till the houre wherein she suffered, a flame of fier presented it selfe in the day time to vewe such (as according to his owne comparison) appeareth in a glasse windowe ouer against a great fier in the same roome, doutlesse this signe was giuen him to some end, and I doubt not, but he made good vse thereof. For the sequell thus much I haue since obserued, that his Sonne and haire in few  
yeares

yeares, wasted the better part of his patrimonie (not to be redeemed at this day, with 20. thousand pounds) by yeelding ouer-much to the vnbridled vanities of another *Anne Ayscu* his wife. Thus it pleased the Lord in his wisdom, to giue honour to our family by such a meane, as the world then held reprochfull, and contrariwise to impaire the state and reputation of the same, by such a match, as in the iudgment of mā (for she was honorably descended) should rather haue giuen more estimation vnto it. But now to returne to the contention temporall. The Earle of *Hertford*, with a new armie of some twelue thousand horsmen & footmen, entring *Scotland*, burned a great part of the *Mers & Tinidale*, amongst the rest, the towne and Abbay of *Kelfo*, and *Melrosse* Abbay, the former was a while defended by 300. *Scots*, but in the end the most of them were either slaine or taken prisoners. The army hauing in this maner passed along the further side of *Tweed* (but not far within the country) returned home without encounter. In Ianuary following, this renowned Prince, not inferiour to any other liuing in those dayes (& yet that age brought forth more excellent, then for many yeares before Christendome had inioyed together) departed out of this life, who had so great desire to haue vnited these two nigh kingdoms, as that (it is said) he gaue especiall charge to the lords of his counsell at his death, to indeuor the effecting of the promised mariage

with



with the yong Princeſſe of *Scotland*, 5. years younger then Prince *Edward* his onely ſonne, now about nine yeares old at the death of the king his father: wherefore the Duke of *Somerſet* the yong kings Vncle by his mother (lately before Earle of *Hertford*) but now with the acceſſe of that title, made alſo lord Protector of the Realme, together with other Lords of the Councell, held it expedient no longer to detract time, but once againe to aſſay, if happily after ſo many victories ouer the *Scots* in the purſute of this cauſe, they would yeeld now at length to that, againſt which they too wilfully oppoſed themſelues. To which end the lord Protector, being wel provided both by land & ſea, paſſed into *Scotland* the next yeare about the beginning of September, cauſing proclamation to be made in 3. ſeuerall quarters of his campe, ſignifying, that the cauſe of his coming was to make knowne to all that nation, that his intent was onely to renew the treaty of the long intended mariage, betweene the King of *England* and their Princeſſe, offering all maner of courteſies to as many amongſt them, as would ſhew themſelues fauorers therof. The armie marching along by the ſea-coaſt, was ſtill attended by the fleet, ſo as vpon euery occaſion the one might relieue the others want. Such Caſtles & houlds as were in their walke, ſome were rendred, others taken by force and ruinated. As the armie paſſed, the *Scottiſh* light-horſemen prouoked the *Engliſh* ~~men~~ to skirmiſh, but commandement was giuen, that

that none should stir against them. The 9. of September the Nauie lodged at *Preston* within view of the *Scottes*, who were incamped at the mouth of the riuer of *Eske*, within little more then a mile one frō the other. The *Scottish* pricklers were now more busie then before, shewing themselves on the top of an hill in their greatest brauery. The *Englishmen* could not indure to be so bearded, & therfore the Lord *Gray of Wilton* (Captaine ouer the horsemen) obtained leaue at length to set on them with a band of light horsemen, and certaine demilances to back them withall. These hauing mounted the hill, the *Scots* at first made shew to giue the charge, but had no such meaning: for some 500. of them comming forward vpon the spurs with a great shout (after their maner) within their staues length of the formost troope, and then purposing to haue wheeled about & begon: the *Englishmen* at an instant vnlooked for, receiued them so roughly, as that at the first incoūter, and afterwards in the chase, within three houres space, aboue 800. of the *Scots* were slaine within sight of their own army. The Lord *Hume* by a fall from his horse in the flight, receiued such an hurt that he died thereof shortly after. His sonne and heire, six Gentlemen, and two Priests were taken prisoners. On the *English* party, but one was hurt yet diuerse were taken prisoners by aduenturing ouer-farre in pursuite of the enemy, amongst whom were Sir *Ralph Bulmere*, *Thomas Gower* Marshall of *Barwicke*, and Captaine *Crouch*, all



three hauing charge ouer certaine companies of  
horsemen. After this blow, the *Scottish* horsemen  
performed no more seruice worth the remem-  
brance. The Protector knowing that the *Scottes*  
were not a little discouraged by this ouer-throw  
giuen the horsemen, & perceiuing no disposition  
in them to giue battaile, vnlesse it were vpon great  
aduantage, thought it now a fit time to make trial  
whether yet they would harken vnto his reason-  
able demands, which he signified to the Gouver-  
nor in writing, to this effect, as *Buchanan* repor-  
teth. First he earnestly intreated the *Scots* to reme-  
ber, that on both sides they were all Christians,  
to whom (if they would follow their profession)  
nothing could be more acceptable then peace &  
amity, nor any thing more hatefull then war and  
bloud-shed. That the warre now betweene them  
proceeded not of ambition, malice, or enuie, but  
from an harty desire of an assured & firme league  
and amity between the two nations, which by no  
meanes else could be effected, then by that mari-  
age, which by their free consents had bin already  
faithfully promised, & by publike writing gene-  
rally approued & ratified, vpon such conditions  
as were more fauorable on their side, then of their  
owne, such as brought them into no manner of  
bondage, but into a friendly society of life and  
community, of either fortune, good or bad. That  
this marriage would be much more aduantageable  
to them then to the *English*, by how much, both the  
hope

hope of good, & the feare of harme, to the nation of lesse powre, should be the greater. That they could not deny, but it was necessary their Queene should marry, consequently that their greatest care would bee, how to bestow her. That if they would make choise of a husband fittest for her, in regard both of his owne worth, & the good that should redound to their common-weale, whom could they preferre before the King their next neighbor, borne and bred vp in the same Iland, of her own bloud, trained vp after one maner of discipline, vsing the same language, and not onely in powre and riches, but well nere in all things (tending eitherto profit or pleasure) farre before her, and which shall bring with it, a neuer fading amitie, and an vtter burning in obliuion the memory of all former malice and dissention? where-as if the *Scots* shall entertaine a stranger, differing from them in lawes, language, and maner of life, what a number of inconueniences will follow thereof? The mischiefe that by such occasion hath falne vpon other nations, may be a sufficient warning: & better it were to be wise by other mens harms, then by experience to buy witt at so deare a reckoning. That for his part, if he found them inclinable to the mariage, he would remit some part of the former agreement, and bee contented that their Queene should bee brought vp amongst them at home, till shee were of age to make her choice, that in the meane season, peace should be



kept betweene the two nations, but with this condition, that their Queene should not in the meane time bee transported out of *Scotland*, and that no compact of marriage should bee made either with the *French* king, or any other forraine Prince. If they would faithfully promise thus much, he would then in peaceable manner immediately depart with his armie, and what-so-euer damage they had sustained since his coming into their realme, it should bee satisfied by the iudgement of indifferent Arbitrators, chosen on both sides. The Gouverner having receiued this letter, imparted the same to very few about him, fearing that if it had passed many mens hands, the greater number would haue inclined to the offered conditions of peace, being so reasonable, which made him the rather conceaue, that vnlesse the Duke had distrusted his strength, hee would not haue made so faire wether with him. And therefore purposing to giue him battaile, he caused a rumor to be spread abroad, that the *Englishmen* were come to cary away the Queene by force of armes: which being receaued for truth, great numbers out of all parts flocked vnto him. The Duke perceiuing their meaning, about 8. of the clock in the fore-noone, caused the army to dislodge, & for their more aduantage, to march directly towards an hill neere thereto, called *Pinck hill*, nigh to *Vndresk Church*. The Gouverner to preuent the *Englishmen* of their purpose, cōmanded

ded euery man to attend his Capraine to the encounter, who made so good speed, that they were well nere come to it, before the other were gone halfe the way. Thus both contending who should first possesse this hill, together with the aduantage of the winde & Sunne, the *Englishmen* were forced, by the forwardnes of the enemy, to aduventure vpon a very desperate peece of seruice. The *Scottish* armie was marshalled in this maner. The Earle of *Angus* lead the vant-gard, consisting of 8000. footmen, garded with five peeces of great Ordinance on the right hand, & about 400. horse on the left. The Gouvernor was placed behind him, with ten thousand *Inland-men* (as they call them) accounted the choifest soldiers, the whole country affordeth. The Earle of *Huntley* had the leading of the rere-ward of 8000. men, well nigh euen with the maine battaile on the left side, being both flanked with 4000. Archers *Irishmen*, & well garded also with field peeces. Their armor (for the most part) was a good skul or lack, short sword very broad and sharpe, dagger & buckler, and a kerchiefe wreathed and wrapped twice or thrice about their collers. In this aray they stood closly together, holding their pikes in both hāds, and with all their bucklers on the left, the point brest high, and the other end resting against the right foot, the fore-ranck bending their knees to giue their fellows behind leaue to couer thē with their pikes, & crossing one another in such forcible maner, as (if they stood fast) neither man



nor horse could breake in amongst them, neither any strength with-stand them. On the other side, the Earle of *Warwicke* Lord Lieutenant of the armie, conducted the fore-ward of three thousand footmen. The Lord *Dacres*, the rere-ward of like number and qualitie. The middle-ward of foure thousand footmen, was conducted by the Generall him-selſe. The men of armes (who were six thousand) lead by the lord *Gray*, lord Marshal: and the light horsmen (to the number of two thousand) by Sir *Francis Brian*, together with the Ordinance, & 200. Harquebusiers on horseback, were bestowed in places most conuenient, either for offence or defence, as present occasion required. There was betweene the two armies a deepe ditch which the *Englishmen* were to passe, before they could come to the enimie, many that could not leape ouer, stuck fast therein, with no small danger to them-selues, and impediment to their fellowes that followed. Besides that, their course lay vntowardly ouer-thwart plowed lands, with deep furrows, for a stones cast, after they had passed the slough. Not-with-standing these incombrances in their course, and the eminent perill of their enimes Pikes at the incounter, the valiant lord *Gray* with his troopes of men of armes, accompanied with the lord *Fitz-Waters* (afterward Earle of *Suffex*) and 2. Knights, Sir *Ralph Vane*, and Sir *Thomas Darcy* (of whom the former was lieutenant of all the men of armes & demilances: the other

other Captaine of the Pensioners) with their seuerall bands, to the number of 3400. men of armes issuing out from both sides of the army, so resolutely gaue the charge a front downe the hill vpon their enemies pikes, that with the verie terrour thereof, they were much amased. Neuerthelesse the *Scottes* kept their order and stand so firmly, that at this sharpe incounter, sixe and twenty Gentlemen, besides nere two hundred others, were slaine out right, amongst whome *Edward Shelley*, Lieutenant vnto the Lord *Gracie* (of his band of *Bulleiners*) as he was the first that passed the ditch, so in likelihood the first also that lost his life. Few of them, that were placed in the formost rancks, returned without hurt on himselfe or his horse. The Lord *Gray* was dangerously wounded in the mouth with a pike. The *Englishmen* had so small incoragement to maintaine this their hot beginning, that in stead of an orderlie retreat, the greater number put their horses to that speed, as thereby they showed a better will to leaue the field then to fight it out. Hereby the next ward was much disordered. But that worthy Earle of *Warwike*, so cherefully incorraged his souldiours to stand to it manfully, that what by his owne industry and the diligence of the Captaines vnder him, the ranckes were reduced into good order, both horsemen and foote-men, so as by the small losse at the former incounter, the whole armie attained



attained their desired aduantage. In the meane season the *Scottes* aduanced their bands with good corrage, though by shot both from land and sea, they were shrowdly galled. But when they perceiued, that the *Englishmen* (both on foote and horse-backe) were now readie to assault them againe, from the higher ground, in such order as they seemed to incompass them; the *Scottish* vantgard to auoide the danger of the *Spanish* shot (who serued on horse-backe,) on the one side: and of being inuironed by the aduersarie on the other, declined on that hand from their former direct course vp the hill; whereat the *Englishmen* giuing a great shoute, cried they flie, they flie; the *Scottes* supposing their fellowes behind them had fled indeede, turned themselves about. The middle battaile, seeing their vantgard out of their course, with their faces towards them, imagined that they had fledde, and forth-with casting downe their weapons, and else whatsoeuer would hinder their speed, they be-tooke themselves (euerie man) to his heeles.

In this sort God gaue the victory to the *Englishmen*, onelie by the working of his diuine power, and not by either power or pollicie of man. The chase was continued out-right VVest-ward about fiue miles, vnto *Lieth*, and wel-nere to the gates of *Edenbrough*, distanced in breadth, neere foure miles, from the sandes

vp toward *Daketh* South-ward. The slaughter was so great, that the riuer of *Eske* was stained with bloud, which lay East-ward from the place of battaile, and runneth North-ward into the *Firth*. Not so few as tenthousand *Scottes* lost their liues, all within the space of fine houres, from one of the clocke till fixe. Of this number, (besides the Lord *Flemming*) about two thousand were men of good quality. Aboue fiftene hundred were taken prisoners, amongst whome the Earle of *Huntley*, the Lord of *Yester*, *Hobby Hamilton* (Captaine of *Dumbar*) the Maister of *Saintpoll*, the Lord *Weames*, and a brother of the Earle of *Cassels*, were of best account. For to one Gentleman their were twenty of the common soldiours taken prisoners, by reason they were all so meanly apparellled, as that the better sort, could not bee knowne from the rest, who otherwise might haue escaped with their liues. This victory fell to the *Englishmen* neere *Musset-brugh*, on Saterday being the tenth day of September in the yeare of our Lord God 1547. Two of my Fathers men, hauing lost him in the chase, in their returne found one flaine, so verie like him in all respectes, and more especiallie by a circle about the finger, whereon he vsed to weare a great ringe, as that with much sorrowe and lamentation they buried him. Hee was one of them, that gaue the first on-set on the enemies pikes, whereat his horse receiued his deathes wound,

1547.



wound, but serued notwithstanding all that day after.

After this the *Englishmen* by sea entred the Ile of *Colme*, a place by scituation very stronge, standing in the *Firthe*, about foure miles from *Lieth*, wherein was an Abbie, but the Monkes had abandoned the same. Here and at the Castell of *Browghtie-Cragge* (which stood in the entrie into the *Taie*) garisons of *Englishmen* were placed, for the more anoyance of those that were to passe vp those riuers. In the returne of the armie by land, *Hume* Castell and *Fast* Castell (after some resistance) were surrendred and fortified by the *English*. At their comming to *Box-brugh* they also erected a fortification vpon the ruines of an olde Castell, and placed a garison therein. Here the Lord Protector receiued diuerse *Scottish* Leardes and Gentlemen, of the best account thorow the whole Countries of *Mers* and *Tinidale*, vnto the obedience of the King of *England*, wherevnto they bound themselves by seuerall oth. The lord Gouerner of *Scotland* and the Queene Mother, made semblance also by message, to be willing to haue come to a treaty with the *English* lords, but whatsoever their meaning was, all their faire shewes turned to nothing. And truely in the iudgement of man it was much to be admired, (considering the great good that was hoped might haue followed thereof to both Nations) what  
should

should moue the *Scottish* Nobility to bee so much bent against this marriage, especially now that the Cardinall was dead, who ouer-ruled the rest while he liued. But he, that seeth the state of all things and time at one instant, knoweth what is fittest to bee admitted in euery season, and disposeth of the successe, of all that man purposeth, to the best aduantage of such as serue him. For if this marriage, so much desired and inforced, had then taken place, who knoweth into what estate, both this and that Realme also, should haue beene therby brought, after the death of King *Edward*, ( the young Queene hauing together with her title so many great friends both in *France* and *Scotland*, and happily here also in *England* that would haue taken her part in that quarrell ) ? While the Duke of *Sommerfet* was thus occupied on the East part of *Scotland* the Earle of *Lennox* and the Lord *Wharton* ( warden of the *VVest Marches* ) at his appointment entred into *Scotland* one that side also.

This army consisted of some eight hundred horse, and five thousand foot-men. First, the Castell of *Milke* ( a fortresse of good strength ) was surrendered, passing from thence further into the Country, they ouerthrew the Church & steeple at *Annand*, fortified by the *Scottes*, and then set the towne on fire. Here with that Country was so affrighted, that on the next day all the

*Kilpatrickes,*



*Kilpatrickes, the Iordenes, the Leards of Kirke-michell, Apple-garth, Close-bourne, How-mendes, Nubie and the Irrewings, the Bells, the Riggess, the Murreis, and all the Clannes and sur-names of the neither part of Annandale*, came in and received an oath of obedience, as subiects to the King of *England*, giuing pledges for their assured loyaltie. They that refused to follow their example, had their houses spoiled and burned, their goods & cattell carried away by the *English* horse-men, who were sent abroad into the Country for that purpose. Thus was that Nation pitifully afflicted for their obstinacy, which vndoubtedly proceeded from their blind zeale to popery, which they sawe was then declining a pace in *England*, fearing that by this marriage the same effectes would haue followed thereof amongst themselves. Thus much was signified by an embleme, borne at the last battaile in the banner of the *Scottish* Prelates, which was a woman painted with her haire about her shoulders, kneeling before a Crucifix, with this word wrytten in golden letters. *Afflicta sponsa ne obliuiscaris*. The Lord *Wharton* with his company being returned with their prisoners and spoiles to *Roxbrugh*, received there of the Duke many thankes, and so were dismissed. The Duke also, hauing first taken order for all things needfull for those garrisons hee leaft behind him in *Scotland*, and committing the Lieutenancy ouer the borders to the

the Lord Gray, on Michelmasse day dissolued his army, and returned into England. In this iorney were made knights by the Duke and the Earle of Warwicke, these whose names follow Sir Andrewe Dudley, brother to the Earle of Warwicke. Sir Ralfe Sadler (of whome I haue spoken before) Sir Francis Brian, and Sir Raufe Vane, were made Banneretes, which is a degree aboue a knight bachelor, beeing alwaies such before.

The Lord Gray of Wilton.

The Lord Edward Seymer.

Lord Thomas Howard.

Lord Walsdale of Cleue-land.

Sir Thomas Dacres.

Sir Edward Hastings.

Sir Thomas Bridges.

Sir John Thin.

Sir Miles Partridge.

Sir John Conway.

Sir Gyles Poole.

Sir Raufe Bagnell.

Sir Oliuer Lawrence.

Sir Henry Gates.

Sir Thomas Chaloner.

Sir Thomas Neuille.

Sir James Wilford.

Sir Raufe Coppinger.

Sir Thomas Went-

worth.

Sir Iohn Meruin.

Sir Nicholas Strange.

Sir Charles Sturton.

Sir Francis Saluin.

Sir Hugh Aysen of Com-

berland.

Sir Richard Towneley.

Sir Marmaduke Con-

stable.

Sir George Audley.

Sir Iohn Holcroft.

Sir Iohn Southworthe.

Sir Thomas Danby.

Sir Iohn Talbote.

Sir



<i>Sir Francis Flemming.</i>	<i>Sir Roland Clarke.</i>
<i>Sir Iohn Greshame.</i>	<i>Sir Iohn Horsley.</i>
<i>Sir William Skipwith.</i>	<i>Sir Iohn Foster.</i>
<i>Sir Iohn Buttes.</i>	<i>Sir Christopher Dirs.</i>
<i>Sir George Blage.</i>	<i>Sir Peter Negro.</i>
<i>Sir William Francis.</i>	<i>Sir Alonso Denille.</i>
<i>Sir Francis Knowles.</i>	<i>Sir Iames Granada.</i>
<i>Sir Willia Thorowgood.</i>	<i>These 3. strangers.</i>
<i>Sir George Howard.</i>	<i>Sir Robert Brandling.</i>
<i>Sir Andrew Corbet.</i>	<i>Sir Richard Verney.</i>
<i>Sir Henry Hufie.</i>	<i>Sir Arthure Mane-</i>
<i>Sir Anthony Sterley.</i>	<i>ring.</i>
<i>Sir Walter Bonham.</i>	<i>Sir Iohn Bertinulle.</i>

In December following, the Earle of *Lennox* (being incoraged therevnto by such as in show, seemed to fauor him) repaired into *Scotland*, and comming to *Dunfreefe*, hee there attended certaine forces out of those partes, which the Earle of *Angus*, and his olde acquaintance the Earle of *Glencorne*, had promised before to send vnto him. But at the daie and place appointed, of two thousand horse-men besides foot-men) which he expected, he was barely furnished of three hundred, and such as liued only vpon robbery and spoile. This manner of dealing, but especially the inconstancy of *Iohn Maxwell* made the Earle (not without cause) very ielious ouer them. VVherefore, that hee might with the like cunning deceiue them, who would haue  
deceiued

deceiued him, keeping still in his companie, the Earle of *Glencorne*, *Iohn Maxwell*, and some other of the principall *Scottes*, who labored his reuolt to their faction, hee secretlie gaue order, that sixe hundred horsemen (some-part *English* and some-part *Scottish*) should at midnight set for-ward towards *Drom-lamrige*. Being come thither, some foure hundred of them beganne in disordered manner, to forrey the Countrie, of purpose thereby to prouoke *James Dowglas* (the Lord of that Castell) to come forth, and so to intrap him. But he doubting the worst kept in till day-light. Then seeing the coast cleere, with some seauen hundred horse, hee followed after them with speed, hoping not onely to ouer throwe them, but also to take the Earle of *Lennox* at *Dunfrees*. Hauiug with his hast entred the riuer of *Nich*, hard at the *Englishmens* heeles, Maister *Henry Wharton* (second Sonne to the Lord *Wharton*) Capitaine ouer that Companie, perceauing the behauour of the *Dowglas*, turned vpon him with some score horsemen (for the *Scottes* their fellows were latelie before departed home-wards with their booties) and what thorough the aduantage of the ground, and the difficultie of the enemies passage, hee put them to flight. *Dowglas* escaped verie narowlie, two Gentle men of his sur-name, of especiall account with him were slaine, euerie man had his prisoner, amongst



amongst whom diuerse were of good regard, these they carried with them to *Dunfrees*. This ouerthrowe put them of *Gallowaie* into such feare, that they did wholly submit themselues to the obedience of the King of *England*. The Governor in the meane time hauing besiedged *Broughty-Cragge*, with some eight thousand men and 8. peeces of artilery, (the which was valiantly defended by Sir *Andrewe Dudley*) when he had knowledge of the good successe the Earle of *Lennox* had, after wel-nere three monthes siede gaue it ouer, leauing behind him *James Haliburton* with an hundred horse, to cut off such victualls, as by land should bee sent thither, and to a fort which the *Englishmen* had built on the toppe of an hill neere vnto the other. The Earle of *Lennox*, beeing desirous to bee better reuenged on his dissembling friendes, his Father in Lawe and others, obtayned leaue once againe, together with the Lord *Wharton* to enter into *Scotland* on the VVest Marches. Their forces were some seauen hundred horsemen, and five hundred foot-men *English*, besides some other *Scottish* horse-men. About the latter end of this yeare, they came to *Loch-maben* and so to *Dunfrees*.

The Earle of *Angus* being then at the Castell of *Drom-lanrigge*, solicited his Sonne in lawe by message, to repaire vnto him. The Earle perceiving it was done vpon no good meaning  
towards

towards him, forth-with appointed certaine troopes of horse-men to foraye the Country, whereby to draw him to the field. About midnight Maister *Henry Wharton* set forwards with twelue hundred light horse-men. The Maister of *Maxwell*, afterwards Lord *Herries* ( whose aduice the Earle vsed in this plot ) and the residue of the assured *Scottes* amongst them, kept the vantgard. In the morning the Earle himselve and the Lord *Wharton* marched forth with the foot-men, till they came ten miles beyond *Dun-frees*. Then they so disposed their companies, that the Earle of *Angus* was wel-nere intrapped, before he distrusted any such matter, so as hee was forced to flie, with fife or fixe persones on-ly in his companie. The *English* horse-men being come to *Dusdere* set the towne on fire. The Maister of *Maxwell* with the other *Scottish* Gentlemen and light horse-men of the borders, to the number of foure hundred, hauing now trained the *Englishmen* into the middest of their enemies, ( for on euery hill toppe great numbers of *Scottes* were placed about them ) forth-with the Leard of *Drom-lanrigge*, with certaine chosen horse-men, aduanced forward in sight of the *Englishmen*; wherevpon the assured *Scottes*, suddenly rearing vp a blacke pensill vpon the point of a speare for a token, ioyned themselves to their Countrie-men vnder *Drom-lanrigge*.



The *Scottes* being thus vnited, and thrusting in betweene the *English* horsemen & their footmen, not without great peril to the one and other, they passed on, towards the Earle of *Lennox* & the Lord *Wharton*, who by this time were approached neere the old Castell of *Danswinton* (some-times the house of the *Cumines*) bru-ting it abroad, that the *English* horse-men were ouerthrowne. The Earle of *Lennox*, beholding the manner of his aduersaries approach, alighted on foote from his horse, willing the Lord *Wharton* to doe the like, for this day (sayd hee) I will die a true *Englishman*. By this time, the *English* horse-men behinde the *Scottes*, fetching a compasse in their retreat from *Dus-dere*, came fortunatly to the place, where the Earle and his companie beeing ranked in order of battaile, were readie to retire backe againe towards *Dunfrees*, thinking no lesse, but that their horse-men had in deede (as it was bruted) beene ouerthrowne by the enimie. But the horse-men now comming in, and perceauing how the matter stood, gaue a braue charge vpon the *Scottes* (that stood facing the Earle and his people, ready to take any aduantage, that in their retreat should haue beene offred) and therewith disordered and put them to flight. The Leard *Drom-lanerigge* was taken prisoner, but by corrupting him that tooke him, hee got away.

The Maister of *Maxwell* had many speares broken vpon him, but escaped. Besides those that were drowned in the riuer *Nith*: foure hundred were taken prisoners, amongst whom the Abbote of *Newe-Abbey*, and *Christie Erwing* of *Boushawe* (a brother of the Learde of *Hempsfild*) were the chiefe. At their returne the Earle to *Dunfrees*, the towne was rifled, from whence Maister *Henry Wharton* was sent withall speede to the Court, to make relation of the good successe of this iorney into *Scotland*, who both for his good seruice now and before, as also for the counter-newes hee first brought to the false report, that (till his comming) was intertaind in *England*, receiued the honor of Knight-hood, as he well deserued. Letters were returned from the Counsell to the Lord *Wharton*, for the execution of certaine pledges: one, for the Maister of *Maxwell*, of his nearest kindred, the VVarden of the *Graie-friers* in *Dunfrees*, the Vicare of *Carlaue-rocke*, & some others, who were executed at *Carliele* accordingly. In the end of Aprill the yeare following, the Lord *Graie* Lieutenant of the North-partes, with Sir *Thomas Palmer* and Sir *Thomas Holcroft*, were sent into *Scotland* with competent forces, for the fortifying of the towne of *Haddington*, and some other places: seruing best for the defence of those Countreies against the enemye, whome the Lord Protector purposed thereby (if it

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might

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might be) to bring to some reasonable conditions of peace. During the *Englishmens* abode their at this time, they tooke and burned diuerse Castells and Townes, wasting that Country (the most firtile soile in *Scotland*) on euerie side. Vpon the surrender of the Castell of *Res-ter*, the Lord *Gray* was contented to pardon the defendantes only one excepted, who during the sledge had vttered reproachfull words against the King of *England*. A *Scotte* named *Newton* was charged here-with, but he denying it, accused one of the *Hamiltons*, who likewise forswore it. These two gentlemen, one accusing the other without any prooffe on either side, required the combat, which was granted vnto them. At the appointed time, they entred the listes at *Haddington*, in the market place prepared for that purpose. They were apparelled in doublets and hose, and weaponned with sword, buckler and dagger. At the first entrie, *Hamilton* kneeling downe made his feruent praier, that it would please the Lord to giue victory to the truth, with solempne protestation, that he neuer vttered any such speech of the King of *England* as his aduersarie layed to his charge. *Newton* being troubled (as it seemed by his countenance) with his false accusation, argued vnto the beholders his guilty conscience.

The combat begunne, *Hamilton* was so full of corage, that he caused the other to giue backe  
 adgim wel-

wel-nere to the end of the listes. But *Newton* perceauing the danger hee was in, (for if he had beene driuen to the end, he should haue beene adiudged vanquished) stept forwards, and withal gaue *Hamilton* such a wound on the legge, that there-with he fel downe to the ground, and then falling vpon him slew him out-right with his dagger. Diuerse *Scottish* Gentlemen present, being fully perswaded, that *Newton* was the offender, notwithstanding this his purgation, offred themselues to maintaine the vanquished mans quarrell, but the victor chalenging the Lawes of armes, my Lord *Gray* would not doe him that wronge, but giuing him his gowne and chaine then about him, hee so dismissed him.

This *Newton* was afterwards met withall vpon the borders, and pittifully hewne and cut in peeces. I cannot see any warrant, that this kinde of triall hath out of Gods word, wherefore it were good, some other more Christian course were taken in such cases. The gouernor now perceauing that without the assistāce of some other Prince, hee should not be able to resist the *Englishmen*, hauing gotten such foot-hold within the Realme of *Scotland*, entreated the Queene Mother, and *Monsieur Doyfel*, Lieger Ambassador for King *Henry* of *France* whose father (king *Francis*) was deceased, some-what more then a yeare before, about two monthes after the death



of King *Henry of England*) to procure the sayd King to send an armie into *Scotland* against the *Englishmen*, enemies to both those Nations. The Queene seeing a readie way now laied open, to bring that to passe she most desired, which was to haue that Realme ordered in all things at the *French Kings* appointment, willingly vnder-tooke to accomplish his request conditionally that he together with the States of the Realme, would giue consent, that the Princesse should bee conuaied ouer into *France*, and bestowed in marriage, as stood with the liking of King *Henry*. The Gouvernor consenting therevnto, assembled the estates of Parliament, who together entred into couenantes to that effect, and presently sent them in wryting into *France*. The King accepting the offer, made preparation for the transporting of an armie into *Scotland* with what expedition conueniently hee could. For hee did well fore-see (as his Father and other of his predecessors had done before him) how inconuenient it was for that Nation, to admit of a marriage, whereby this Island should become one absolute monarchy.

This was well obserued, at what time the Emperor *Charles* the fift, and *Francis* this Kings Father, visited King *Henrie* the eight at his campe besides *Calice*: where they together beholding, ouer the entrance into the Kings Pavilion, a deuise of an Archer, imbroded thereon,

thereon, with this word, *Cui adhaereō praeſt*: brake *Meterane* out into this kind of ſpeech one vnto the other, if the King of *England* eſteeme ſo much of his owne powre and ſtrength, in this his preſent eſtate, hauing yet *Scotland* a bad neighbour vnto him: what would he doe, if hee commanded the whole Iland? The Lord *Gray* hauing fortified *Hadington*, and furniſhed it of all things neceſſarie, leauing therein a garifon of two thouſand footmen, and five hundred horſe, on the xii. of Iune returned into *England*. While the *Scottiſh* nation was thus vexed by the *Engliſh*, the *French* King made great preparation, as well to ayde his friends there, as to annoy the *Engliſhmen* in garifon at *Bullen-berge*, and other places on that ſide the ſea. But the Councell of *England* warilye fore-ſeeing, and preuenting the danger thereof, was not vnprovided to reſiſt all ſuch attempts as on either ſide might preiudice the wel-fare of the realme.

And further it was thought good to make triall once againe, how much they might by entreatie and gentle perſwaſions preuaile with the *Scottiſh* Nobilitie, in the matter of mariage betweene King *Edward*, and the Princeſſe of *Scotland* that was now offered to the *French* King, for his ſonne the *Dolphin*. And becauſe they ſhould bee well aſſured that the ſame proceeded not of any perticuler diſpoſition in the Protector alone, who before (as I haue ſhewed) had



had to that end earnestly solicited the Gouvernor by his priuate letter) he together with the Lords of the Counsell, ioyntly in all their names, signified by publike writing to the whole *Scottish* nation, their continued hearty desire in this point, in maner following.

„ Considering with our selues the present state  
„ of things, and weying more deeply the maner  
„ and termes wherein you and we do stand, it mak-  
„ eth vs to maruell what euill and fatall chance  
„ doth so disseuer your hearts, and maketh them so  
„ blind and vnmindfull of your profit, and so still  
„ to make and heape to your selues most extreame  
„ mischiefes, the which wee, whom you will needs  
„ haue your enemies, goe about to take from you,  
„ and perpetually to ease you thereof. And also by  
„ all reason and order of necessitie, it should be ra-  
„ ther more conuenient for you, to seeke and re-  
„ quire moderate agreement of vs (whom God  
„ hath hitherto according to our most iust, true,  
„ and godly meaning, and intents prospered, with  
„ your affliction) then that wee being vanqui-  
„ shers in the field, and maisters of a great part  
„ of your realme, should seeke vnto you. Yet  
„ to the intent that our charitable minds and bro-  
„ therlie loue should not cease, by all meanes  
„ possible, to prouoke and call you to your owne  
„ good, euen as one naturall brother to another,  
„ or as the carefull Phisition doth to his carelesse  
patient,

patient. VVee still call and crye vpon you to  
looke to your estate, to auoide the calamities  
which ouer-whelme and oppresse you, to haue  
vs rather brothers then enimies, rather coun-  
trimen then strangers. And if your Gouvernour  
shall retaine and keepe from you this our ex-  
hortation, as heretofore hee hath done our pri-  
uate Letters and publique proclamation, tend-  
ing to the same effect, for his and his fauorites  
more aduantage, not regarding though you  
bee still in miserie, so as they haue gouernance  
and profit by you, and shall still abuse you  
with fained and forged tales: yet this shall bee  
a witnesse before G O D and all Christian peo-  
ple, betweene you and vs, that wee professing  
the Gospell of I E S U S C H R I S T, according to  
the Doctrine thereof, doe not cease to call and  
drawe you from the effusion of your owne  
bloud, the destruction and ruine of your realme,  
from perpetuall enmitie, and from seruitude to  
forraine Nations: to tranquillitie, amitie, liber-  
tie, and equalitie with vs, yea to that, which  
your owne writers haue alwayes wished might  
come to passe. VVho that hath read the Stories  
of times passed, and obserueth the incursions,  
roades, spoyles, and the bloudie battailes be-  
tweene these two Nations: your realme (fue  
times) ouer-runne by one of our Kings: your  
Kings, some taken prisoners, others slaine  
in battaile: and with-all shall consider, that as

wee



„ we bee confined by the Ocean, and so made one  
„ Iland, euen so agree wee, and resemble one the  
„ other, in language, lookes, manners and conditi-  
„ ons: shall he not thinke it a thing very vnmeete,  
„ vnnaturall, and vnchristian, that there should bee  
„ betweene vs so mortall hatred and discord, where  
„ ought to be loue and perfect amitie, as betweene  
„ brethren of one Iland, the great *Britaine*? Though  
„ he were a stranger to both, what could he thinke  
„ more fitte, then if it were possible, to make two  
„ such kingdomes one, in all respects so conform-  
„ able and suteable? Now for as much as two suc-  
„ cessors cannot concurre and fall into one, by any  
„ other meane then by mariage, where-by is made  
„ of two, one bloud, one lineage, one parentage, and  
„ so an indefencible right giuen on both sides, to  
„ one, without the destruction of either: what  
„ could you wish more happy, then that, which  
„ now, not by blind chance, but of his infinite mer-  
„ cie, as being carefull of your estate, he hath done  
„ for you: And to the end you should the better  
„ obserue the maner of his diuine working here-  
„ in for your good, call to remembrance that your  
„ last king, a Prince of much excellencie, had three  
„ children. But did not the Lord God, as if it were  
„ to shew that it was his will and pleasure, the long  
„ continued warre betweene the two nations,  
„ should take end, and they become vnited and  
„ made one people: take away the two male-babes  
„ placed a sunder, both within the space of foure  
and

and twenty houres, leauing but one maiden child “  
your Princeſſe: when the moſt wiſe and victori- “  
ous Prince late our King (*Henry* the eight) in “  
other of his marriages not very fortunate) had “  
by his moſt lawfull wife, the vertuous Queene “  
*Iane* (his other two former wiues then being “  
dead, and neuer any queſtion made of the lawfull- “  
neſſe of that mariage, nor after her death any “  
motion of other wife (though the King liued “  
eight yeares after) a Prince of ſo high expecta- “  
tion, the true and vndoubted heire to the crowne “  
of *England*, and his Maieſties onely male iſſue “  
left behind him to ſucceed him: if nothing elſe “  
had beene done, what can any wiſe, or any Chri- “  
ſtian man, that thinketh the world is gouerned “  
by Gods prouidence, and not by fortune, other- “  
wiſe take it, but that it was the Lords will it “  
ſhould be ſo, to the end that theſe two realmes “  
ſhould bee ioyned in mariage, and there-by to “  
make a godly, firme, and moſt friendly vnitie be- “  
tweene them? if any man looke to bee confir- “  
med herein by miracle, obſerue and marke all the “  
poſſibilities of the natures of the two kings: the “  
children firſt had the doubtfull chance, leaſt both “  
of them ſhould haue had a ſonne, or both daugh- “  
ters, or not of meete ages, with other circum- “  
ſtances of the one partie or the other, which “  
hath not chanced in eight hundred yeares be- “  
fore: it muſt of neceſſitie be reckoned an extra- “  
ordinarie courſe, if not a miracle. But be it as it “  
may



„ may bee, what more certaintie can bee had of  
„ Gods working and will in this case, then the  
„ consideration of the former recited occurrents  
„ doth minister? call you them prouidences or  
„ meere chances, if you shall be still afflicted? May  
„ not the Lord say vnto you: I of mine infinite  
„ mercie, and loue to your Nation, had prouided  
„ an vndoubted heire and a Prince to the one, and  
„ a like heire and a Princessse to the other, to bee  
„ ioyned together in my holy ordinance, and by  
„ the law of Nature and Nations, to haue made an  
„ vnitie and peace there-by, betweene the one  
„ realme and the other; but you refusing the of-  
„ fered oportunitie, haue made choise of dissenti-  
„ on, rather then of vnitie: of discord, then of  
„ agreement: of warre, then peace: of hatred and  
„ malice, then of loue and charitie. If you then  
„ smart for it, whom can you blame, but your  
„ owne bad choise. But because some of you, who  
„ oppose your selues here-vnto, cannot but con-  
„ fesse Gods prouidence herein, for the vniting of  
„ both realmes, yet may neuer-the-lesse here-after  
„ obiekt as before you haue done, our fault here-  
„ in is, that we seeke not equality, nor the mariage,  
„ but a conquest, that wee would not bee friends  
„ and fellowes, but Lordes ouer you: Although  
„ our proclamation, and priuate letters at the last  
„ warres, doe sufficiently declare the contrary, yet  
„ here we protest to you and all Christian people,  
„ that it is the Kings minde by our aduise and  
coun-

counsell, not to winne and subdue by force, but to  
conciliate by milde courſe: not to ſpoile and kill, "  
but to ſaue & keepe: not to diſſeuer and diuorce, "  
but to ioyne in mariage both Prince and people, "  
to make of one Iland, one kingdome vnited in "  
loue, amitie, concord, peace and Chriſtian chari- "  
tie. If you reſuſe and reiect this kindneſſe, & ther- "  
by compell vs to uſe armes, who ſhall bee guiltie "  
of the bloud-ſhed? who cauſeth battailes, burn- "  
ing of houſes, and other extremities and miſ- "  
chiefes that accompany warre? can it bee denied, "  
but that we haue the great ſcale of *Scotland*, gran- "  
ted by generall conſent in your Parliament, for "  
a teſtimonie againſt you. What was wanting, "  
tending to the aſſurance of the mariage, ſaue "  
onely yeares, and ſo liking and conſent betweene "  
the parties themſelues? what end can you looke "  
for, by ſtill oppoſing your ſelues againſt our ho- "  
neſt purpoſe and Chriſtian indeuor, but ſuch ſuc- "  
ceſſe, as you haue already aſſaied? we offer loue, e- "  
quallity, & amity, we ouer-come in war and offer "  
peace, we win holds, & with-hold our hands from "  
conqueſt, we get ſtill in your land, and offer you "  
our owne, what can be more offred & proffered, "  
then intercouſe of marchandiſe, & interchange "  
of mariages, the abolishing of all ſuch our lawes, "  
as might bee impediments to our mutuall a- "  
mity? Wee haue offred, not onely to leaue and "  
giue over the name, title, right, or chalenge of "  
Superioritie, but alſo to relinquish, the long "  
continued



„ continued name of our Nation, and the glory of  
„ any victorie ( if any we haue had or should haue  
„ of you ) and to take vp againe with you , the an-  
„ cient name of *Britaines* , because nothing should  
„ be left on our partie vn-offered, nothing of your  
„ party vn-refused, whereby you might be inexcus-  
„ sable. What face hath this of conquest? we goe  
„ not about to disinherit your Queene, but to  
„ giue her issue ( if she haue any ) a greater inhe-  
„ rittance . What better defence can you wish in  
„ her nonage, then to haue *England* your patron  
„ and protector? neither seeke we to abrogate or  
„ change your lawes and customes, but rather to  
„ establish them and redresse your oppressions.  
„ These vaine feares are put into your heads by  
„ them, who in truth respect more their priuate  
„ aduantage and present estimation, then the good  
„ of the whole land, both present and future. Now  
„ in this tumult of disorder, while your realme is  
„ tossed vp and downe, with the waues and surges  
„ of warre, they thinke they cannot be espied: but  
„ looke on them with the eies of sound iudgment,  
„ and then you shall easilie perceiue their drift.  
„ Consider in what state you stand: to keepe your  
„ Queene vnmarried, were very dishonorable: to  
„ marrie her within your realme, cannot extin-  
„ guish the title wee pretend to the Crowne of  
„ *Scotland*, and what dissention, enuie, grudge, and  
„ malice, that shall breed amongst you, is easily  
„ perceiued. But you will bestow her out of the  
realme

Realme to a mighty Prince? Our title standeth “  
 where it was, you become subiect to foraigne “  
 power, to them of a strange land and differing “  
 language, vs you haue your enemies euen at “  
 your elbowes: your succors farre of not passa- “  
 ble at all times. Be not wee now in the heart of “  
 your Realme? possesse we not a good part ther- “  
 of? Do not many of your owne Nation take “  
 our part, mooued therevnto by the equity of “  
 our demande? But you will bring in a foraigne “  
 power, to expulse vs and all our partakers. Be- “  
 ware what you doe. Learne to bee wise by o- “  
 ther mens harmes. Consider how dangerous “  
 a point it is, to call to your aide a Nation of “  
 greater power then your selues. VVere not “  
 our predecessors the *Britaines*, expelled by the “  
*Saxons* vpon that aduantage? How did the “  
*French* thrust out the *Gaules*? How came the “  
*Turke* by all *Grecia*, and now of late by *Hunga-* “  
*ria*, but by beeing brought in and entertayned, “  
 for their aide and succour? Did not the *Gothes* “  
 by like meanes get all *Italie*, and the *Lombardes* “  
 one part thereof now called *Lombardie*? VVhat “  
 better successe looke you for? Needie soul- “  
 diers, hauing their weapons in their handes, “  
 and knowing you cannot inioye your owne “  
 without them, what will they not commaunde, “  
 what will they not vsurpe, and what will they “  
 thinke that you dare doe against them? Such “  
 aide wilbe your confusion, the victorie so had, “

Z

your



„ your seruitude ; what is then to bee thought of  
 „ the losse sustained at their hands ? The strangers  
 „ and mercinarie souldiers will oppresse you  
 „ within, our power and forces without, were it  
 „ not then much better to auoide all these mis-  
 „ chiefes, by an happie mariage with our King, to  
 „ end all warre and contention by so honorable  
 „ peace ? Holdeth not the Emperor, *Spaine* and  
 „ *Burgundy* by right of mariage ? How hath the  
 „ *French King Britaine*, now lately annexed to that  
 „ Crowne, but by title of marriage ? How haue all  
 „ the Princes of the world happily & peaceable,  
 „ made of two kingdomes, one, of feuerall signio-  
 „ ries, one, of sundrie Nations ( euer before at  
 „ warre one with the other, or else in doubtfull  
 „ peace,) one well gouerned kingdome, rule and  
 „ dominion, but by that Godly, most commenda-  
 „ ble, and honorable composition of mariage ?  
 „ There be only two means to worke good agree-  
 „ ment, where two Nations pretend title one to  
 „ the other : either by force of armes, or by mar-  
 „ riage, of these you hate the one, namelie con-  
 „ quest, and neuerthelesse refuse the other. You  
 „ will not haue peace, you reiect alliance, what  
 „ then remaineth ? but violence and happily con-  
 „ quest, whether you will or no, which ( we feare )  
 „ wilbe lesse damage and dishonour vnto you,  
 „ then the entertainment of a foraigne power, or  
 „ ner-mighty to bee remoued by you when you  
 „ are wearie of their companie.

To

To conclude, wee declare and protest, that although we are compelled for the time, for the furtherance of our honest and Christian purpose, and for the defence of such amongst you as fauor the same, to keepe houlds, and to build fortifications in the Realme: Neuerthelesse his Maiesties minde and pleasure is, with our aduice and Counsell, that if faire meanes may preuaile, not to vse extremities, if you will imbrace amitie, to leaue armes, for wee desire, loue, ynitie, concord, peace, and equalitie. Let neither your Gouvernor nor your Church-men, nor any other, feede you with faire words, and thereby bring you into the snare, from whence they cannot deliuer you againe. They will hapilie provide for themselues, some pensions out of an other Realme, but who shall provide pensions for the rest? They will send you souldiers to keepe your houlds, but who shall force them to restore them againe? You shalbe well provided of munition, armor and weapons, but there-with they wilbe readie to cut your owne throates. Now on the other side, if we two, being made by this mariage one People, one Nation, and one Monarchie, hauing the sea for a wall, mutuall loue for a garri-son, and God for our defense, what should we be affraide of? who can hurt vs? whie are you not as willing as wee bee, to knit this fast knot of amitie with vs. If the honour of so Noble a



„ Monarchy doth not mooue you herevnto , let  
„ the remembrance of your former losses feare  
„ you, to attempt that thing, which shall displease  
„ almighty G O D , increase your trouble , wast  
„ your goodes, and desolate your Country. VVe  
„ craue but your promised Queene, your offred v-  
„ nity, the coniunctiō of both nations, which God  
„ himselfe of his infinite clemency and tender  
„ loue towards both , hath offred vnto vs both,  
„ and in a manner prouoked vs both vnto it,  
„ whose calling wee acknowledge , and will pur-  
„ sue the effecting of the same, by all good means.  
„ VVhere-with if wee shall not preuaile , then  
„ must wee bee inforced to chastice the obstinate  
„ and froward amongst you , with the angry An-  
„ gels of God, fire and sword. VVherfore we once  
„ againe require and exhort you al, who loue your  
„ Country, and beare true hearts to your Queene  
„ and Mistresse , regard your honours , hold your  
„ faith and promise with vs , which shall bring so  
„ great a benefit vnto you. As many of you, as shal  
„ fauor and further this our interprice , bee hee  
„ Lord or Leard, Gentleman or other , wee will  
„ friendly intertaine him on our party , & reward  
„ his seruice to his best contentment . And for a  
„ more sure prooffe of our good meaning herein,  
„ knowe you, that the King by our aduice and  
„ Counsell hath granted, and by these presents  
„ doth grant , that from hence-forth all manner  
„ of Marchantes and other of your Nation,  
„ who

who shall enter their names with one of the Wardenes of our marches, and there professe to take part with vs in this our iust and Godly intention, may (to his owne profit, and all such as bee of the same affection with vs) without any let enter into any port, creeke and hauens of *England*, and there vse their traffique, buye and sell, bring in the commodities of *Scotland* and carrie forth the commodities of *England* as free lie, and with the same and none other custome or paiments, then the Kings naturall subiects do vsually now pay, purposing also vpon the good successe of this our offer, further to gratifie the fauorers of our enterprise, according to the measure of euery mans merit. All this the Kings highnesse, by our aduice and Counsell, hath willed to be declared in wryting vnto you, & giuen in commandement vnto vs and his Lieutenants VVardenes, Rulers & other head Officers, Ministers and subiects, to see done and executed, according to the true purport, effect and meaning thereof. Fare you well.

Diuers of the *Scottish* Nobility, mooued hereby to a due consideration of the present Estate of their Country, notwithstanding that the *French* succors were already ariued, did not feare in a publique assembly (wherin the cause was solemnly debated amongst them) to declare, what reasons moued them to hold it more profitable & honorable, to accept of the alliance & league



offered them by the Counsell of *England*, then to  
 seeke the same at the hands of the *Frenchmen*. But  
 the aduerse party being the stronger (for besides  
 that al the *Papists* wel-nere were of that faction)  
 the *French* king had promised great rewards and  
 preferments to the principal men amongst the:  
 on the gouernor himself he had bestowed a year-  
 ly pension of 12000. crownes, and a charge of  
 an hundred lances) the rest were ouer-ruled, and  
 this point firmly concluded, that the young  
 Queene should be forth-with sent into *France*, to  
 be affianced vnto the *Dolphine*, which was after-  
 wards effected accordingly. The *French* army ar-  
 rived on the 19. day of this present month of  
*Iune*, consisting of some 6000. in the whole, viz.  
 3000. footmen *Germanes*, conducted by the  
*Rinegrau*, 2000. *French*, and 1000. others of  
 sundry Nations horf-men, ouer whom *Monsieur*  
*Desse* was appointed general, accompanied with  
 other expert Captaines, namely *Dandelot*, *Malle-  
 ry*, *Daisel*, *Pietro*, *Strazzy* (an *Italian*) *Nicholas Vil-  
 leaignon* Captaine of the Gallies, and *Monsieur*  
*Bano* Commissary ouer the artillery. These togi-  
 ther with eight thousand *scotish* layed siege to  
*Haddington*, and in short time so battered the  
 walles with their great ordinance, that in diuerse  
 places it was assaultable. Neuertheles the towne  
 was so well defended by *Sir James Wilsford* the  
 Captaine thereof, & his people, that the enemy  
 had smal hope to take it by force, wherefore they  
 indured

indetoured to cut of al access, whereby to famish the defendants, & keepe from them other necessities which they wanted, neuertheles by the policy of certaine *English* Captaines, that found a way in the night, with 200. horse-men, thorowe the *Scottish* watch, the towne was releued in good time, wherevpon within 4. daies after, the *Scots* leaft the sledge (five or sixe hundred light horse-men only excepted) & went euery man to his owne dwelling. This made the *Frenchmen* more vigilant & wary afterwards, so as they that made the like interprice next, had not so good successe, for of thirty hundred horse-men (wherof 700. were lances) comitted to the charge of Sir Robert Bowes & Sir Thomas Palmer, few or none escaped, but was either slaine or taken prisoner. This ouerthrow was imputed to the rashnes of Sir Thomas, because, that after his lances had before repulsd the enemies two seuerall charges, he would not be there with satisfied, but presuming vpo his former fortune, aduertured againe so far within their danger, that being incopassed by them, the *English* could find no way out to escape. The Lord Protector in the meane time, hauing provided an army of 15000. men (of whō 3000. were *Almains*) comitted the conduct thereof to the Earle of *Shrewsbury*, accompanied with the L. *Gray* lieutenant of the North-parts. Moreover the lord *Clinton* high admiral of *Englad* (after created Earle of *Lincoln* by *Q. Elizabeth*) with



a navy at sea, kept course with the army by land, so as they were never far a sonder, but the ships that had brought the *Frenchmen* into Scotland (which they hoped to haue met withal) were before this time sent home wards back againe. At the approach of the *English*, *Monsieur despie* raised the field, & retiring his army towards *Edenbrugh*, incaped beyond *Musskelbrough*, in a plat of ground chosen for his best aduantage, the *English* horsemen coasting them, al the way as they passed, for the space of 7. or 8. miles. The towne of *Haddington* being victualed and furnished of al necessary prouision, the *Englishmen* showed themselves to the enemy, who there vpon offered skirmish, but they, seeming as the vnprovided to accept thereof, drew backe themselves vntill the other were come forward within danger of an ambushment laied purposely to intrap them. The *Englishmen* then taking the expected aduantage, wheeling about, gaue the enemy a charge, inforcing him to make his carriere back with more speed, then appertained thereto, so as hauing him in chase, diuers were slaine & take prisoners, namely *Pierre Longue* & *Lucinet* two French Captains. By this time, 14. or 15. thousand *Scots* & *Irish* were come to the enemies campe. These new forces were skantly lodged, when suddenly the *Englishmen* presented themselves in good order of battaile, expecting some profer of skirmish for the space of an houre, but perceauing they had no list to leaue

leauē their strength, they returned back to their owne Campe. The Nauie, being now entred into the *Firth*, was not idle, for comming to the brent Iland, the *Englisbmen* set fire on foure ships, and passing thence by *Leeth*, they saluted that Towne with Cannon shot. *Monsieur de Villegaignon*, not long before this, was departed from thence with foure Gallies, where-with compassing all the Northerne Ilands of *Scotland*, he arriued at *Dunbritton*, where by appointment hee receiued into his charge the young Queene, betwixt fiue and fixe yeares of age, attended by the Prior of Saint *Andrewes* her bastard brother, *John Aesken*, and *William Lewistone*, with whom at length (with much difficultie) hee landed at *Brest*, the Queene from thence was conueyed to the *French Court*. The Lord Admirall after this, attempting to burne Saint *Miners*, was there repulsed by the Laird of *Dun*, where-vpon the Nauie returned to attend the Armie, hauing sustained some losse at that their last bickering. The Earle hauing proceeded as farre as his Commission extended, dissolved his armie, and returned into *England*. But the Lord *Gray*, staying some time in the Northe parts, according to the charge giuen him, entred againe into *Scotland* with the *Almaigne* footmen, and certaine *Englisb* horsemen, burning and wasting the countries of *Tinidale* and *Lidsdale*, twenty miles within the land, and then returned without incounter. The reason hereof was (as it seemeth)



seemeth) a quarrell, at that time in *Edenbroogh*,  
 risen betweene the *Scots* & the *Frenchmen*, when  
 in *Sir James Hamilton* Larde of *Stene-house*, Cap-  
 taine of the Castell, and Prouost of the towne,  
 together with his sonne and diuerse townesmen,  
 that tooke his part, were slaine by the *French*,  
 that with-out leaue would haue entered the  
 towne. This broile (no doubt) bred great vn-  
 kindnesse, & no small iealousie in the one nation  
 ouer the other, so as some incommenience had  
 followed there-vpon, had not the matter in time  
 beene taken vp betweene them. *Monsieur Desie*, to  
 bring himselfe into credit againe with the *Scots*,  
 aduentured with his companies of *Frenchmen* &  
*Almaignes*, to giue a Camisadoe to *Haddington*, for  
 comming thither in the night, about the middest  
 of *October*, some pretty while before day, hee dis-  
 patched the watch before they were aware of  
 any enemy, and was entred into the base court,  
 ready to breake downe the towne gate, before  
 the alarme was raised, crying out, victory, victo-  
 ry. The *Englishmen* with the suddennesse hereof  
 were much amased, not knowing which way to  
 turne them. In this perplexitie a soldier amongst  
 them (vsing a desperate remedie for a present  
 cure) gaue fire with his match to a double Canō,  
 that by good chance lay ready charged against  
 the gate: the which with his thunder-bolts made  
 such a passage thorow the *Frenchmen*, that were  
 now thronging thereat, as the terrour thereof  
 made

made the residue to giue back. The *Englishmen* in the meane time issuing out at a posterne gate vpon their backs, so beltirred their Halberts and black-bills, that many of their enimies were knocked downe, and the residue driuen away, as fast as their legges could carry them. Notwithstanding *Desse* gathering them againe together, gaue three assaults that morning to the towne, but was still repelled to his great losse, for they caryed away with them sixteen Carts and wagons, laden with maimed soldiers, and dead carcales, besides nere two hundred, that were found in the base court, whom they left behind them. Shortly after this blowe, the enimie had the like successe at *Dundie Forte*, being already possessed of the towne: for the *Frenchmen* hauing also recouered the pile there, and purposing to finish a peece of worke, which the *Englishmen* had begun to their hands, the *Rien graue* with his *Almaignes*, and Monsieur *De Etanges* were forth-with sent thither to that end: while they were about this businesse, the *Englishmen* and their *Almaignes*, issuing out of *Broughtie Cragge*, two miles distant from it, came so suddenly vpon them, that they had no other way to saue them-selues but by running away. And eyther at this time, or at some other shortly after Monsieur *de Etanges* (who with his company of *Horsemen* laye in garrison at *Dundie*) was by them of *Broughtie Cragge*, taken prisoner, in a skirmish that was betweene them:

this



this Gentleman was no small losse to the enemy, being of that approued valiancie, as not many amongst them were matchable with him. But ere it was long, the want of him was requited by the taking of that worthy Knight *Sir James Wilford* (the *Gouernor* of *Haddington*) by the *French* garrison at *Dumbarre*, as he passed by the towne in a conuoy: his place was supplied by *Sir James a Crofts*. The enemy, perceiuing how vnlikelie it was to preuaile against the *English* at *Haddington* and *Browghtie* (which were the places of greatest importance that they held so farre within *Scotland*,) brought his forces vnto the borders, at least to defend those countries, then shrewdly incombred by the continuall incursions of the *Englishmen*. During the *Frenchmens* abode at *Iedworth*, they tooke some strengths in those parts in the keeping of the *English*, namely the Castels at *Ferneherst*, *Cornewall* & *Foord*, and also entring the *English* Marches, burned diuerse villages, carrying away many good booties, not a little to the losse and annoyance of the inhabitants of those partes. The *English* borderers here-vpon assembled them-selues at *Rox-brough*, purposing to haue assailed the *Frenchmen* in their Campe at *Iedworth*, but they hauing knowledge thereof, and finding them-selues ouerweake to make resistance (for by this time many of them were dead, through want of victuals and other necessities which that hard country,

especi-

especially in winter, could not afford them) would not abide the hazard of battaile, but with all speed with-drew them selues further into the countrie: neither from this time forward did they performe any seruice worthy the remembrance. The *Scots* in the meane time recovered *Hume* Castell out of the *Englshmens* hands by night, through the treacherie of certaine of the assured *Scots*, who at all times had free access there vnto. About the beginning of the next yeare, viz. 1549. some fīue and twen ie saile of 1549. men of warre, were sent out of *England*, who arriuing in the *Firth*, continuing their course vp the riuer, seized vpon foure thippes which they found there. Comming vp ouer-against *Leith*, and saluting the Towne with their shott, they laye at Anchor thirteene or twelue dayes, in which time hauing landed their men on the Iland of *Iuskit*, and begun to fortifie the Fleete, they returned to the Sea, in hope to encounter a new supply of *Frenchmen*, dayly expected in *Scotland*: but before the worke could be brought to any perfection, *Le Desse* taking vpon him this peece of seruice, whereby to giue a plausible farewell to his former crosse-fortunes in these *Scottish* warres, recovered the Iland, after it had beene in the *Englshmens* possession sixeteene dayes. All the Captaines well-neere were slaine, and the residue taken prisoners. The number left to attend the finishing of this Forte, were  
four



foure Ensignes *English*, and one of *Italians*. This Monsieur, hauing atchieued the glory of this enterprice, gaue vp his charge to Monsieur *de Thermes*, lately arriued at *Dun-britaine*, and forth-with returned into *France* in the same galleys, which brought the other into *Scotland*. The generall conduct of all the *French* forces being now committed to *de Thermes*, which with these he brought with him, was well increased: hee forth-with incamped at *Aberladie*, where he began a foundation of a Fort, therby to impeach the landing of any victuals, for the reliefe of *Haddington*. Though the Councell of *England* were now very busily occupied, as well about the suppression of a most dangerous commotion within the realme, as also in making preparation against the *French* king, that now inuaded *Boullognoies*: neuer-the-lesse, they neglected not (as farre as the state of things at home and abroad would permit) to relecue this their slippery foot-hold in *Scotland*. For the Earle of *Rutland* (Lord President then of the North, and Generall of this armie) accompanied with Sir *Richard Manors*, Sir *Francis Leake*, Sir *John Saunge*, Sir *Thomas Holcroft*, Sir *Oswald Woistropp*, and others, furnished with competent forces, both forraigne and Natiue, entred there-with into *Scotland*, and did not onely giue reliefe to *Haddington* and the other garrisons, but with-all so distressed the *Frenchmen*, by setting vpon them in their Trenches, that if the aduantage had

had beene foreseene in time, the enemye had been in great danger of an utter ouerthrow. The *Almaignes*, that at this seruice tooke part with the *Englishmen*, hauing in the meane time committed the custodie of their baggage to their women & boies, were disburthened by the *Scottish* pricklers, of so much as was worth the carriage. But *Iulian Romero* with his band of *Spaniards*, sped much worse. For the enemies sodenly setting vpon them, where they lay incamped neere the towne of *Coldingham*, slew both their Captaine, and well-neere the whole number of them. About this time, *Faſt* Castell was recouered by stratagem out of the *Englishmens* hands. For the gate being set open, and the bridge let downe, to receiue victuals brought thether by the assured *Scottes*, at the Captaines appointment, while the same was vnlading, certaine other *Scottes*, that were priuily placed to attend the oportunitie, sodenly entring the Castell surprised it.

The Earle of *Rutland* being called home more speedily then was purposed, to the suppressing of a new commotion in *Torkeshire*, that brake out in his absence, the state of the *Scottish* affaires began thence-forth to decline, not onely by the tumults raised by the comminalltie in diuerse parts of this realme, but also by the disagreement betweene the Lord Protector, and the rest of the Nobilitie, especially the Earle of *Warwick* Lord great Chamberlaine, and afterwards

created



created Duke of *Northumberland*. By reason of which vnhappy iarres, it was thought necessary to giue ouer the keeping of *Hadington*, being a matter in-deed of more charge then profit, seeing it could not bee victualed, but by the conuoy of an armie. The Earle of *Rutland* was therefore sent thither againe, to see the fortification rased, and to conduct the men and munition safely into *England*, which was performed accordinglye. *Monsieur Thermes* and his associates being herewith not a little incouraged, in *February* following besiedged *Broughtie-Cragge*, which together with an other fortification neere vnto it, were in short time recouered out of the *Englishmens* hands, wanting meanes to make resistance against so strong an enimie: neuer-the-lesse they would not yeeld, so long as any man well-neere was able to stand in the defence of the charge they had vnder-taken. While these things were in doing, a treatie of peace was set on foote betweene *England* and *France*, but the Commissioners proceeding slowly therein, the *Scottes* and *Frenchmen* ceased not, in the meane time, to pursue the accomplishment of their ioynt desires, which was, vtterly to driue the *Englishmen* out of *Scotland*. Therefore immediatly after the recouerie of the former houldes, they besiedged *Lowder*, where after some skirmishes passed betweene the one party and the other, that Forte also was so strictly beset on all sides, that if the  
peace

peace had not beene the sooner concluded, Sir *Hugh Willoughby* (the Captaine thereof) must of necessitie haue yeelded, thorough the lacke of shot and other necessities seruing for defence. Amongst other articles comprised in this agreement, one was, that all such Castels, Fortifications and strengths, held by the *Englishmen* in any part of the *Scottish* dominions, should be restored to the *Scots*, and that the Forts of *Dowglass*, *Roxbrough* & *Aymoth*, which the *Englishmen* had erected in the time of these warres, should forth-with be razed and throwne downe, to auoide all occasion of new controuerfie. *Mounsier de Mourret* was sent into *Scotland* from the *French* King, to publish this accord betweene the three Nations, *France*, *England*, and *Scotland*, which in the beginning of Aprill in the yeare (that followed) 1550. was in euery point executed accordingly. The next month al the strangers made returne homewards, two yeares well neere after their first arriual into *Scotland*. And thus ended (for this time) the whote war betweene these two neighbor nations, which had continued now for the space of 7. yeares together, to the exceeding great impoverishment of that kingdom, & effusion of bloud on both sides. For aboue fiftie yeares after, there was not any like hostility betweene them. For, all that passed betwixt the one and the other realme vntill the beginning of the 5. yeare of the raigne of *Queene Mary of England*, who succeeded that



1553.

pearelesse Prince of most famous memorie King Edward the 6. on the sixt day of Iuly, in the yeare 1553) the same was rather to be accouſted a light breach of the peace, then open warre on either ſide. Neither were the broiles betweene them in thoſe two laſt yeares of her raigne, of any great reckoning, which grew by occaſion of the warre made by King Philip her husband on the French King: for he therevpon ſolicited the Queene Regent of Scotland (who about two yeares before obtained that dignity) while the Comiſſioners of both theſe nations were buſie at Carliek, about the renewing of the league, to inuade this realme. She being willing to gratifie her confederate, when the Comiſſioners had broken vp the treatie of Peace without any concluſion, aſſembled a great

1557.

1557.

Armie, where-with coming to Kelſoe in the moneth of October 1557. ſhee together with Monsieur Doiſell and other Frenchmen, began to perſwade the Scottes to inuade the realme. The Scottiſh Nobility, to the end they would ſeeme ſome-what to yeeld to her request, paſſing with the army ouer the riuer of Tweed, beſieged Warke Caſtell, whereat lying for the ſpace of 2. or 3. daies, and then hearing of the approach of the Earle of Weſtmarland (Lieutenant of the North) after ſome conſultation vpon this point, the Scottiſh lords concluded, that for ſo much as the Engliſhmen had giuen them no iuſt cauſe of quarrell, eſpecially in ſo high a degree and meaſure of re-  
uenge

uenge, that the Queene Regent had drawne them thither, for the pleasure onely of the *French King* and the reputation of *Monsieur Doisell* his agent, who in the managing of this affaire had carryed himselfe very loftily: therefore (I say) they concluded to breake vp the sledge, and to returne homewards, and so this much adoe produced nothing. The Queene and her *Monsieur* tooke the matter very greeuouſlie, accounting themſelues much disgraced here-with, but becauſe there was no remedy, for the preſent time they reſolved to beare it as patiently as they could, hoping a time would come, that ſhould make them of more authority amongſt them. To this end they laboured to haſten the mariage of the yong Queene (now come to ripe age) for there-by all things ſhould then paſſe without controulment, at the will and appointment of *France*. The Queene Regent returning home-wards, left *Monsieur Doisell* with the *French* forces at *Haymouth* (where lately before hee had raiſed a Fortification, to counter-garrifon the *Engliſhmen* in *Berwicke*. Diuerſe foot-bands alſo of *Scottiſhmen* were waged by the *French King* to lye at *Kelfo*, *Roxbrough*, and other ſuch places on the *Scottiſh* Marches, for the defence of the country, and the annoyance of the *Engliſhmen* as occaſion ſerued. Amongſt many other roades and aduentures, which paſſed this winter between the one nation & the other, with variable ſucceſſe on both ſides, that between the



Earle of Northumberland, and Sir *Andrew Carre* was of most reckoning, wherein after doubtfull victory a long time, at length the *English* preuailed: the *Scottish* Capitaine and diuerse other being taken prisoners. Sir *John Foster* at this seruice bare himselfe very valiantly, for besides that his horse was slaine vnder him, hee receiued two dangerous wounds, the one thorough his neck, the other on his thigh. On the foure and twentieth day of Aprill, the yeare next following,

1558.

*viz.* 1558. the mariage of *Francis the Dolphine* with *Queene Mary of Scotland*, was solemnized at *Paris* with great triumphe and reioycing, which afterward brought that flourishing kingdome into danger of an vtter subuersion; for her Vncles, especially *Francis Duke of Guise*, and the Cardinall of *Lorraine* his brother, by reason of this marriage, bare them-selues so loftily, and so egerlie stroue thereby to aduance their house, that they turned *France* vp & downe, ruling all things at their owne wils and pleasure. The summer following, sundry out-roads passed betweene the borderers on both sides, but with more losse to the *Scots* then to *Englad*, for besides 2. chiefe leaders of their footmen, the Lord *Keith* sonne to the Earle Marhall, and *Patricke L. Gray*, were in those broiles taken prisoners, but on the *English* party Capitaine *Edrington* only. Some seruice by sea also, was performed by the *Englishmen*, for Sir *John Clere*, being sent with certaine ships  
of

of warre to the coast of *Scotland*, comming to the *Iles of Orkney*, and hauing landed some part of his company, such a tempest did sodenlie arise, that perforce hee was driuen backe to the maine sea, where struiuing a long time in vaine to recouer the Iland againe, hee was forced to leaue them behind him, who were thereby all slaine and taken prisoners by the Ilanders. But the Earle of *Suffex* ioyning with Sir *Thomas Cotton*, and *Sowthwick* his Vice-admirall, had better successe in *Kniter*, the *Iles of Arraigne* and *Cumber*, where they made great spoile, and had done much more there-about, if by out-ragious stormes and tempests they had not beene hindered. Of all the *English* Gentlemen that serued these last two yeares with charge, I know but one liuing at this day, namely *Thomas Marckham* (commonly called *Blacke-Marckham*) who lead the band of foot-men, of Sir *Iohn Marckham* his Father.

As for the warre maintained in *Scotland*, since the happy raigne of our late Soueraigne Lady and Queene, the most renowned and famous *Elizabeth* (who to the exceeding great comfort of all the true Christians of this whole Iland, succeeded her deceased Sister, on the seauenteenth day of Nouember, in the yeare before named) the same was from time to time, alwayes vnder-taken by her, at the earnest petition and request of the Nobilitie of *Scotland*,

1558.



to the common good and well-fare of both nations: For when that realme, in the beginning of her raigne, became ouer-burthened by the dayly repaire of the *French* forces, sent thither to the aide of the Queene Regent, and her pertakers in the defence of the *Romish* religion: the better sort of the *Scottish* Nobility, as the Duke of *Chateaulereault*, ( who attained that dignity of the *French* King, for yeelding vp the gouernment to the Queene Mother ) the Lord *James* Prior of Saint *Andrewes*, the Earles of *Arraine*, *Arguile*, *Glen-carne*, *Rothowse*, *Southerland*, *Monteith*, *Huntley*, *Catnesse*, *Erolle*, *Marshall*, *Cassels*, *Eglenton*, *Montrosse*, the Lords *Ruithen*, *Boide*, *Ogletree*, *Ayskin*, *Drommond*, *Hume*, *Rosse*, *Chrieghton*, *Leuenstone*, *Sommerwell*, the Maister of *Lindesey*; and the Maister of *Maxwell*, did all ioyne in request vnto the Queene of *England*, that it would please her Maiestie to assist them against the iniurious demeanure of the *Frenchmen*, who sought not onely to extirpate the profession of the Gospell, which they had lately imbraced, but also practised the vtter abolishment and ruine of their ancient lawes and liberties. Their sute was the more willingly yeelded vnto, because it was doubted, that if the *Frenchmen* had once set good foot-hold in *Scotland*, some trouble might haue come thereof to this realme, thorow the ambition of the Queenes vncles the *Guises*, who abusing their authority vnder *Francis* the second (the yong King) had

had all things at their command in France. The suspicion hereof did first arise, when immediatly after the death of Queene Mary, the *Scottish Mary* (pretending a title to the Crowne) vsurped the armes and stile of *England*. Herevpon in the latter end of February, the Earle of *Arguile*, the Prior of Saint *Andrewes*, the Maister of *Maxwell*, and the yong Lord of *Ledingtone* (the Secretarie) mette the Duke of *Northfolke* at *Berwick*, who was sent thither for that purpose. Here it was concluded, that whatsoeuer stranger should inuade either *England* or *Scotland*, that then the one nation should minister ayde to the other: that what *Scottishmen* should serue her Maiestie in her owne realme, or what *Englishmen* should serue in *Scotland*, all should receiue pay onely of the Queene of *England*: that what bootie or prey should bee gotten by the *English* seruing in *Scotland*, the same should become their owne, (the Townes & Castles excepted) which should forth-with bee restored to whom by right they did appertaine.) For the better assurance hereof, five young Gentlemen were shortly after sent into *England*, as pledges in the behalfe of the Lords of *Scotland*: namely the Lord *Claudie Hamilton* (fourth sonne to the Duke) *Robert Dowglas* halfe brother to the Lord *James Steward*, *Archibauld Cambell* Lord of *Lowghennell*, *George Grayme* second sonne to the Earle of *Monteith*, and *James Canningham* sonne to the Earle of *Glencarne*.



All these were to remaine in *England* during the liues of the *Scottish* Queene, and of the *French* King her husband together, and one yeare more next after his decease, if it first happened. While this businesse was in hand, the *Frenchmen* being then at the mouth of the water of *Leuin* in *Fife*, making head to the *Scottish* Lords: des-cryed eight ships ready to arriue, which at the first sight, they tooke to bee sent out of *France* to their succors. But when they perceiued that they were *English*, with all possible speed they posted to *Leethe*, forth-with beginning to fortifie the towne. The *Englishmen* hauing cast Ancre in the roade there, the Queene Regent sent to Maister *Winter* ( the Vice-admirall ) to know for what cause hee was come thither, who dissembling with her for the present, answered, that hauing beene at the Sea to pursue certaine Pirates, and not finding them abroad, hoped to haue heard of them there. With-in fewe dayes after this, the whole Nauie repaired thither vnto him, where-with becomming commander ouer the *Furthe*, the *Frenchmen* were penned vp both at *Leethe*, and in the Iland of *Iuskeith*, so as no victuals could bee brought them by Sea.

1560.

About the beginning of the yeare next following, viz. 1560. The *English* armie, consisting of two thousand horsmen, and six hundred footmen ( ouer which the Lord *Gray* of *Wilton* was Generall )

Generall) coming to *Haddington* within *Scotland*, was at the first saluted by the Earle of *Arraine*, the Lord *James Prior*, the Maister of *Maxwell*, Sir *William Kircawdie* Leard of *Graunge*, and diuerse other of the *Scottish* Nobility, attended with three hundred horse. After mutuall congratulations, the *Scottish* Lords departed for that night. The next day (beeing the first of *Aprill*) the Lord Lieutenant accompanied with Sir *James Croft* (an assistant vnto him in that charge) the Lord *Scroope* Lord Marshall, Sir *George Howard* (generall ouer the men of armes and demie-lances) with diuerse Captaines rode to *Muskelbrugh* Church, where the *Scottish* Duke (after some stay) intertained them, beeing accompanied with his Sonne the Earle of *Arraine*, the Earles of *Arguile*, *Glencorne*, *Southerland*, *Montieth* and *Roths*, the Prior of *Saint Andrewes*, the Lord *Ruithuen*, the Lord *Ogletree*, the Lord *Boied*, the Maister of *Maxwell*, the Leard of *Ormeestone*, the Master of *Lindsey*, the Bishop of *Galloway*, the Abbot of *Saint Colmes-inch*, the Abbot of *Culrose*, the Leards of *Pettierowe*, *Cunninghamhead*, *Grange*, and diuerse other to the number of two hundred horse. After many curteous embracings and kinde salutations, they spent two houres together in Counsell, then brake vp and parted for that night.

The army lay still at *Preston* from Munday till Satterday, beeing the sixt of *Aprill*, to the end



end that in the meane season, the *Scottish* Lords might make triall once againe whether the Queene Regent ( who now for her more saftie remained in *Edenbrugh* Castell ) would bee drawne to any reasonable conditions of peace, to which ende they did write vnto her in manner following.

„ VVe haue often heretofore earnestly intrea-  
„ ted you, both by worde and wryting, that it  
„ would please you to remoue the *French* forces,  
„ which now for the tearme of one yeare more  
„ haue many waies intollerable oppressed the  
„ poore, and put the whole Nation in feare of  
„ a most miserable bondage and thrawldome.  
„ But when we perceiued, that these our iust pe-  
„ titions did preuaile nothing with you, wee  
„ were then inforced ( by way of complaint ) to  
„ lay open our pitiful estate vnto our next Neigh-  
„ bour Prince, the Queene of *England*, and with  
„ teares to craue aide of her to repulse by force  
„ of armes ( if otherwise it cannot bee ) those  
„ strangers, that seeke to bring vs vnder their  
„ subiection. But although shee ( being mooued  
„ with compassion ouer our calamities ) will  
„ vndertake the defence of our cause: notwithstanding  
„ to the end wee may performe our duties  
„ towards the Mother of our Queene, and ( as  
„ much as wee may ) refraine from the effusion  
„ of Christian bloud, and then onely to arme our  
„ selues,

selues, when otherwise wee cannot obtaine our  
right: wee held it our partes to beseech you  
again and againe, that forth-with you will com-  
mand all the *French* forces to depart hence.  
For whose more speedie passage, the *Queene*  
of *England* will not onelie graunt them safe  
conduct, to passe thorowe her kingdome, but  
will presently take order they shalbe trans-  
ported by her nauie into *France*. If you make  
light reckning hereof, wee call God and man  
to witnesse, that wee haue not armed our  
selues vpon malice or stomacke, but are vn-  
willinglie and of meere necessitie inforced to  
aduenture vpon extreame remedies, least o-  
therwise wee suffer the common-weale, our  
selues, and all our posteritie to bee cast downe  
headlong, into an irrecoverable deapth of  
infinite calamities. Neither yet shall anie  
daunger whatsoeuer (though presentlie we  
sustaine much euill, and more is like to fall  
on vs) cause vs to depart from our dueties  
to our *Queene*, or to resist the King her hus-  
band in anie thing, which shall not mani-  
festlie tend to the eminent daunger and de-  
struction of our selues, our posterities, and  
ancient liberties. But (most gracious Prince)  
wee doe humblie againe beseech you, that  
weighing the equitie of our request, and  
foreseeing what euill maie ensue of *VVarre*,  
and howe necessary a thing Peace shall bee

to



„ to the mis-affected estate of this your daughters  
 „ kingdome: it would not displease you to con-  
 „ firme your will to our iust petition, which if  
 „ you do, you shall not onlie leaue to all Nations  
 „ an acceptable memorie of the moderate car-  
 „ riage of your selfe in place of gouernment, but  
 „ thereby also giue tranquillitie and rest to the  
 „ greatest part of Christendome. Farewell. At  
 „ *Dalkeith* the fourth daie of Aprill. Anno.  
 „ 1560.

„ These last wordes, in the shutting vp of the  
 „ letter, were spoken (*I take it*) of the present e-  
 „ state of *Scotland* touching Religion. For nowe  
 „ had the better part of the Nobility taken vpon  
 „ them the defence of the Preachers of the Gos-  
 „ pell, wherevpon they were named the Lords of  
 „ the Congregation. And this was the princi-  
 „ pall occasion of these broiles betwixt the  
 „ Queene Regent (who would haue maintained  
 „ poperie) and those of the Nobility. How hono-  
 „ rable and Christian a part was it then of the  
 „ Queene of *England*, to interpose her selfe into so  
 „ iust a quarrell, as is the defence of the most an-  
 „ cient, apostolicall, and vndoubted Religion? and  
 „ how much shall that Nation bee for euer bound  
 „ vnto her Maiestie, for so inestimable a benefit,  
 „ as thereby it hath hitherto happily enioyed?  
 „ What answere the Queene made to the Lords  
 „ I find not, but still one or other labored by all  
 „ possible

possible means, to worke a reconciliation, but al was in vaine, for the Queene would not yeeld to the sending away of the *French* forces, on which point the Lords stood stifie. At the approach of the army to *Lieth*, on the sixt daie of Aprill, the *Frenchmen* to the number of thirtene hundred, issuing out of the towne, tooke possession of a little *Knole*, (called the *Halkeshill*) thereby to preuent the *Englishmen* from incamping there, but at length the enemy (with the losse of some seauen score men, was beaten backe to the very gates of the towne. Diuerse *Englishmen* were also slaine, and many more hurt, but if it had beene knowne, what aduantage was offred by the *French*, their whole power (it was thought) might therby haue beene vterly ouerthrowne. VVhile the Lord *Graie* was at *Muskelbrough*, on his way thitherward, he sent Sir *James Croft* and Sir *George Howard* vnto the Queene, to intreat an abstinence of warre for foure and twenty houres, that in the meane time he might make knowne vnto her the cause of his comming in that manner: and further that vpon some conditions hee would accept of peace. The Queene (consenting herevnto) sent an Harauld to *Lieth* to giue knowledge thereof, but whether the fault was in the messenger, or in the *Frenchmen*, the *English* armie was inforced to the fight: after which hee refused any more parliance. But proceeded to the sledge of  
*Lieth,*



*Lieth*, which was no lesse valiantly assailed by the *English*, then by the aduerse partie it was defended. During which, an accident happned in the towne, that more indangered and damnified the enemy in one night, then the assailantes had done before in twentie. For on the last day of Aprill, about two hours before Sun-set, a sodaine fire arose in the towne, which beeing increased by an outrageous winde then aloft, continued till the next morning, hauing consumed a great part of the buildings, and amongst the rest certaine common Garners and Store-houses, wherein was great prouision of corne and victualls. Neither were the *Englishmen* slowe in pursuing the aduantage thereof. For by removing their great Ordinance on that side the towne, they beat backe those, which labored to quench the fire, and entring the ditches, tooke the height of the wall, and so egarly assaulted the breaches, that had not the *Frenchmen* fore-seene the danger they were false into, and continually applied their businesse, and stood to it manfully on euery quarter, that nightes worke (as it was thought) would haue ended the warre for that time. The sledge continued neere sixe weekes longer, in which time many lost their liues on both sides. At one assault (which was the sharpest of all the rest) an eight score *Englishmen* were slaine outright, and not so few maymed and hurt. But still, thorow the especiall care  
and

and good fore-sight of the Duke of *Northfolke* (then appointed to remaine in the North-partes for the direction of this seruice) their wants whatsoeuer, were from time to time supplied. The *French King*, vnderstanding into what distresse the towne was brought (for the *Frenchmen* were now worne & ouerweried with continuall watching & warding) sent two Ambassadors into *England*, *County Randon* and *Monluc* Bishop of *Valence*, to treat with the Queene for a peace with *Scotland*, his wiues kingdome. For hee held it an indignity to seeke it at his subiects handes the *Scottish* Lords. Her Maiesty being not vnwilling to accept of any reasonable conditions, so as the *French* might be remoued, was content to associate vnto them Maister Secretary *Cecill* (afterwards Lord *Burley* and high Treasurer of *England* whilest he liued, mine honorable good Lord and Maister) and Doctor *Wotton* deane of *Canterbury* and *Yorke*. These passing together into *Scotland* after some three weekes trauell, concluded a peace on the eight day of Iuly following, which was immediatly proclaimed at *Lieth* in these words.

The most mighty Princesse *Elizabeth* by the  
grace of God Queene of *England*, *France* & *Ire-*  
*land*, defender of the faith &c. And the most  
Christian King *Francis* and *Marie* by the same  
grace of God, King and Queene of *France* and  
*Scotland*



„ *Scotland*, haue accorded vpon a reconciliation  
 „ peace and amity, to be inuiolably kept betweene  
 „ them, their subiectes, kingdomes, and Coun-  
 „ tries. And therefore in their names, it is streitly  
 „ commanded to all manner of persones borne  
 „ vnder their obedience, or being in their seruice,  
 „ to forbear all hostility, either by sea or land, and  
 „ to keepe good peace each with other, from this  
 „ time forwards, as they wil answere there-vnto at  
 „ their vttermoſt perills.

The moſt materiall articles were theſe: that  
 all the *Frenchmen* ſhould depart the Realme,  
 with bagge and baggage, within the tearme of  
 twentie daies next following. And becauſe  
 they wanted (at that preſent) ſhippes enough to  
 receiue ſo great a number, the Queene of *Eng-  
 land* ſhould furniſh them there-with, leauing be-  
 hinde them pledges for their ſafe returne. That  
*Lieth* ſhould bee deliuered vp to the *Scottes*, the  
 walles and fortifications about it raiſed and  
 throwne downe. That the fortification erected  
 by the *Frenchmen*, before the Caſtell of *Dumbar*,  
 ſhould be alſo caſt downe. Thus much beeing  
 performed on the *French* partie, the *Engliſhmen*  
 ſhould forth-with breake vp the ſiege and de-  
 part. That *Mary Queene of Scottes*, with the con-  
 ſent of her husband, ſhould by an act made to  
 that end, bury in obliuion all attempts and ac-  
 tions done or interpreted by the *Scottiſh* Lordes  
 againſt

against their authoritie, from the tenth day of Marche, in the yeare 1558, to the first of August this present yeare 1560. which acte should bee ratified in Parliament then immediately to bee holden by the estates of *Scotland*, with the approbation and allowance of the said King and Queene of *France* and *Scotland*. That three-score *French-men* should still abide in the Ile of *Iuskeith*, and as many in the Castell of *Dunbarre*, least otherwise the Queene might seeme to bee dispossessed of the whole Kingdome. Lastlie that the King and Queene of *France* and *Scotland*, should not from thenceforth vsurpe the title, or beare the Armes of *England*, sithence the same onely belonged of right to the Queene of *England*. Whilest these Ambassadors were passing into *Scotland*, the Queene Regent deceased at *Edenbrough*, which happily gaue readier dispatch to this businesse. Thus was that Nation disburthened of this seruitude to the *Frenchmen*, amongst whome *Monsieur la Brosse* (one of the chiefe Commanders vnder the Queene Regent) aduised his maister the French King (as by intercepting of his Letters was discouered) to haue brought the Nobilitie of *Scotland* to vtter destruction, and of their liuings and yearely reuenues, to maintaine a thousand men of Armes, to keepe the commons in perpetuall bondage. At the Parliament holden in August following, the



**A**ct of Oblivion ( according to the former articles ) was ratified , and the question of Religion debated, and there-vpon a confession of the faith established and published. Shortly after, the Earle of *Morton* , the Earle of *Glencarne*, and the young Leird of *Ledington* repayed to the *English* Court, in the behalfe of the other Lords, to render thanks to the Queene of *England* for the great fauour her Maiestie had done them, in reducing their distressed countrie to a peaceable estate, for the which they acknowledged them-selues bound vnto her for euer . In December next, *Francis* the *French* King deceased, where-vpon Queene *Mary* returned into *Scotland*, the twentieth of August the

1561.

Summer following, in the yeare 1561. Presentlie after *William Metlaine* was sent into *England*, to make knowne her safe arriual, and to recommend vnto her Maiestie most kinde salutations from the Queene his Mistresse, and her great desire to continue amitie and concorde betweene their kingdomes.

Then hee presented to her letters from the Lords, wherein after a due remembrance of thankfulnessse for the late receiued fauours, they humbly intreated her Maiestie, not onely to carry her selfe in such sort towards their Queene, that shee might there-by bee mooued to continue amitie with her: but that it would please her, by as straight bands as possible might

might bee, still to binde her more and more vnto her, promising that for their parts they would let slippe no occasion, as farre as it rested in their powers where-by to perpetuate the late league betweene the two nations. Further that the most assured meane, where-by to bury in perpetuall obliuion the memorie of all former dissention, and clearlie to take away all occasion of future quarrell rested herein, that it would please her by acte of Parliament to establish the succession of the crowne of *England* (for want of issue of her owne body) vpon the Queene their Mistresse, who in bloud was next vnto it: Hauing prooued by sundry arguments and examples, that this their request was both iust and agreeable to the practise of the Kings ouer both these nations in former times, hee concluded that their Queene expected that fauour at her hands. Here-vnto the Queene of *England* answered. I looked for another kinde of Ambassage from your Queene, I maruell shee hath forgotten, what at length shee promised before her departure out of *France*, which was to ratifie the peace made at *Leeth*, and that immediatly after her returne into *Scotland*, I should bee certified thereof.

I haue now long enough (said her Maiestie) beene fed with faire words, it is high time (if your Queene regard her credit with vs) that her deeds be answerable ther-vnto. The Ambassador



in her excuse answered, that he was sent out of *Scotland* within few dayes after their *Queenes* returne: that she had not then entred into the handling of any matter of State, but was wholie busied in giuing intertainement to the Noblemen, for the more part vnknowne vnto her: neither were they all come at his departure, whose aduice it was fitte shee should vse in a matter of that importance ( especially touching the establisshing of Religion, which how difficult a point it was, shee her selfe knew by experience ) and without whose consents shee neither could nor ought to conclude of any thing. The *Queene of England* beeing heere-with more moued, replied. What needeth ( I pray you ) any further consultation to effect that, where-vnto your *Queene* hath already bound her selfe by her hand and seale? what answer I should make here-vnto ( sayd hee ) for the present I know not, hauing receiued no warrant here-in from our *Queene*, who looked not that this point should haue beene so farre vrged now. This is all I can say vnto it: Your Maiestie may easilye see, what iust occasion shee now hath, to deferre that businesse vntill a more conuenient time, when as I doubt not, but you shall bee better satisfied. After some further speech, her Maiestie comming to the most materiall point of this ambassage, I well remember ( saith shee ) what you haue deliuered  
vnto

vnto vs, in your Oration from the Nobilitie of *Scotland*, in the behalfe of your Queene. First that shee is the next vnto vs in bloud, and therefore I should shew greatest affection and loue towards her, which wee neither will nor can denie. For the whole world can witnesse with vs, that in all our actions we neuer attempted any thing against the good and safetie of her selfe or of her kingdome; that when she claimed and chalenged our kingdome, and vsurped the armes of the same, yet neuer-the-lesse wee could not bee perswaded, but that it proceeded rather from some bad counsell about her, then from her selfe. But how-so-euer it was, wee hope shee shall not bee able to take our Crowne from vs, or from my issue, if I leaue any such to succeed vs. If I dye with-out children, shee shall not finde any thing done by vs, that may preiudice her right to the Crowne of *England*. What that is, wee neuer yet thought it needfull to examine, neither purpose wee heere-after to trouble our selfe there-with-all, but wee leaue it to them, to whom it pertaineth to looke vnto it.

If your Queenes title bee good, wee will no way impaire the same. And I call GOD to witnesse that for our part, wee knowe none, next my selfe, whome I preferre therein before her, or (if the matter should come in question) can exclude her. Who bee the competitors you knowe (sayd shee) well enough.



But what are they ( poore soules ) to attempt a thing so farre aboue their strength ? After some speach more of the meane estate of those Ladies ( all being the issue of the Lady *Mary*, second Daughter to King *Henry* the seauenth ) at length she concluded, that this their request was a matter of a very great weight, and that she had neuer yet entred into any due consideration thereof, and therefore it was requisite, shee should haue longer time to thinke better of it. After some few dayes, shee called the Ambassadour againe vnto her, and told him, shee could not finde out, what the meaning of the Lords was, to make this petition so presently after their *Queenes* returne home, especially knowing, that the occasion of the former greeuances was not yet taken away, what other thing is it ( said she ) they require, but that not-with-standing the manifest wrong offered vs, we should without further satisfaction, gratifie their *Queene* in yeelding to a point of that importance ? if they take this course ( said she ) let them know, that we haue as good meanes as they, both at home and abroad, whereby to hold our right. The Ambassadour answered, that their desire herein proceeded from a care they had, not onely to further the aduancement of their *Queene* : but, that which touched them nearer, ouer their own estates, which by any trouble arising hereafter there-about, might happily fall into danger of  
an

an vtter ruine. That the Lords were imboldned the more freely and plainly to impart their mindes vnto her, by the experience they haue had of her Maiesties good affection towards them, and of the care shee had alwayes shewed ouer the continuance of their present estates, and therefore hee hoped, shee would make the best constructions of their meanings towards her, in this their petition, proceeding vpon so necessary considerations. If wee had (said she) attempted any thing, hurtfull to your Queenes title, then had they had good cause to haue moued vs to take some other more moderate reuenge. But to perswade me to haue (as it were) my winding sheete layde before me, while I liue, is such a petition, as was neuer yet made to any Prince. Neuer-the-lesse wee doe not mislike their honest meaning herein, eyther in respect of the good towards their Queene or themselves. For, wee must confesse, it would cost many men on both sides their liues, if happily any aduerse partie amongst those competitors should oppose her selfe against your Queene. But who should shee bee? or what meanes can shee make?

Well, letting this doubt passe, wherein there is no doubt to bee made, admit wee were inclinable vnto that they desire, would wee, thinke you, be drawne vnto it, thereby to gratifie those Noblemen, rather then your Queene her selfe?



surely no. But there bee many moe reasons then yet I haue made, to keepe vs from yeelding there-vnto. After shee had in a long discourse declared, what shee had obserued both particulierlie in the disposition of her owne subiects: and more generally in the corrupt nature of man-kind, and with-all had alledged sundrie examples in other Christian kings, how iealous they haue beene euen ouer their owne children, who by the lawes of God and Nature, were to succeed them: shee concluded, that by them she was taught, how dangerous a point it was to make their Queene her knowne heire to the Crowne of *England*, the more in that she was already a mighty Princessse of her selfe, and therefore she should with the more difficultie, vpon such a grounded hope, containe her selfe within the due bondes of lawe and equitie. Vpon further conference with her Maiestie at another time, the Ambassadour at length obtained, that the former treatie of Peace, and the articles then set downe, should bee retracted, and enlarged in this maner. That the Queene of *Scots* should no longer beare the armes of *England*, nor vsurpe the title of Queene ouer the same, during the life of the Queene of *England*, or of her issue after her. On the other side, that the Queene of *England* should promise and couenant for her selfe, and her issue after her, that neither shee, nor they should make or do any act, that might preiudice the  
the

the claime and right of succession, which the  
Queene of *Scots* hath to the Crowne of *England*.

In like maner, when as after the broiles in  
*Scotland*, which followed the detestable murthers  
of King *Henry*, the Queene of *Scottes* her second  
husband, Father to the King that now raigneth,  
and of the Earle of *Murrey* their Regent, they of  
her faction (shee being then fled into *England*  
for her more safetie, and remaining there in a fa-  
uourable kinde of captiuitie) practised her de-  
liuerance, by stirring vp a dangerous rebellion  
in the North parts of *England*, and that the prin-  
cipall conspirators the two Earles of *Northum-  
berland* and *Westmerland* were fled into *Scotland*,  
and harbored there: the Queene of *England* be-  
ing moued there-vnto, as well in respect of her  
owne safety, as of the tender and motherly care,  
she had ouer the Infant King her neere kinsman,  
whose life was brought thereby into no lesse  
danger then her owne: her Maiestie was easilie  
drawne by the intreatie of the *Scottish* Nobilitie  
of that faction, to take vpon her the defence and  
protection of them and that kingdome, against  
the common enimies and disturbers of the  
peaceable and quiet estate, of the one and other  
Nation, who (besides their priuie practises) had  
also by open hostilitie and inuasion, prouoked  
her Maiestie to take armes against them. For  
euen the next night, after the Regent was slaine,  
*Walter*



Walter Scotte, and Thomas Carre of Fernherste, at the instigation especially of the Archbishop of Saint Andrewes, entred the *English* borders, and in outrageous manner, with fire and sword, wasted and spoyled the countrie adioyning. Neither were the aduersaries satisfied with this, and the like displeasures sundry times afterwards, but they were not ashamed with most despightfull tearmes to reproach her Maiestie. Of this faction, the *Hamiltons* were the principall heads and leaders, not so much (as it was thought) for any good meaning towards the *Scottish* Queene, whose party they would seeme to take, but rather by bringing her againe into *Scotland*: they hoped to worke the destruction both of the Mother and Sonne, and there-by to set the Crowne of *Scotland* vpon some of their owne heads, pretending to bee next in bloud after them to the same. The Queene of *England* being thus prouoked to reuenge, by her aduersaries on the one side, and on the other side intreated by her well-willers, to ioyne with them against those, who were enimies both to her and their owne King, commanded the Earle of *Sussex* (Lord Lieutenant then of the *North* parts) to gather such forces there, as he thought conuenient, where-with-all to enter into *Scotland*, so as on the eighteenth day of Aprill, in the yeare 1570. that realme was together inuaded from all the three *English* Marches. The  
princi-

1570.

principall Armie was conducted by the Lord Lieutenant himself, accompanied with the Lord *Hunsden* Gouvernor of *Barwick*, and Sir *William Drewrie* Marshall there. The next was lead by Sir *John Foster* warden of the middle Marches: the third by the Lord *Scroope*, warden of the West Marches. The two former, entring into *Tinidale*, wasted and destroyed what-so-euer stood in their way, vntill they met at *Crawling*, where they also rased the Castell. Fro thence passing to *Iedworth*, they were so well intertained, that in requitall thereof, they forbare to doe any harme there. Departing thence, the Armie sundry times deuied it selfe, the more to afflict the countries where they passed: Vpon the two and twentieth of the same moneth they returned together to *Barwick*.

The Lord *Scroope*, in the meane time, with his people, hauing ranged the enimies Countries, as farre well neere as *Domfries*, gaue them sundrie ouer-throwes, tooke many prisoners, burned diuers Townes, and returned also in safetie. In these iourneyes, aboue fiftie Castells and places of strength, and not so few as three hundred Townes, Villages, and dwellings, were rased, burned, and spoiled: so as none well neere in all those parts, who had either receiued the *English* rebels, or had by inuasion indamaged the borders of *Englad*, had left vnto them, dwellings  
for



for them-selues or their followers, besides the great losse of their goods wasted, consumed, or caryed away by the *Englishmen*. During these exploits, the Marches of *England* were on every side so garded by the Lord *Euers*, Sir *George Bowes*, and the Bishoprick-men, as the enimie durst not once offer, to carry so much as a Cowe out of *England*. The Lord Generall, hauing staid three dayes at *Berwicke* for the refreshing of his armie, and making preparation for the sledge of *Hume* Castell, hee then assailed the same so egerlie, that within three dayes more it was surrendered. This Castell was committed to the custodie of Captaine *Wood* and Captaine *Pickman*, with whom leauing a garrison of two hundred souldiers, hee returned againe to *Berwicke*. At this sledge but foure were slaine on both sides, two *English* and two *Scottishmen*. The fourth of *May*, the Lord Generall lying sicke at *Berwicke*, sent Maister *Drewrie* with some two thousand men, to take *Faſt* Castell, which vpon the first summons yeelded it selfe; it was kept by halfe a score *Scottes*, and committed to the custody of as many *Englishmen*, who were thought able enough to hold it against all the powre of *Scotland*, the same by scituation was naturally so strong. The Generall at his returne made him Knight, together with Sir *Thomas Manners*, brother to the Earle of *Rutland*, Sir *George Cary*, now Lord *Hunsdon*, and Sir *Robert Constable*.

While

While these things were in doing, the Earle of *Lennox*, being ther-vnto earnestly labored by the Lords of the Kings party his country-men, obtained leaue of the *Queene of England*. (where hee then remained) to ioyne with them in the King his grand-childs quarrell. But because the aduerse partie had gotten such head (whilest that Realme was without a head) that with his safety he could not passe alone vnto the: it pleased her Maiesty (such desire she had to aduance the good estate of that Nation) not only to safe-conduct him thither, but also to giue him such aide, as hee should not stand in feare of the malice of his enemies. For Sir *William Drewrie* Generall, with the other three new made knights, and certaine companies of horse and foote-men, to the number of sixteene hundred in the whole, setting forth of *Berwicke* together with the Earle and his *Scottish* retinewe, on the twelfth day of May, made so good speede (the foote-men beeing a daies iorney before them) that on the next day they came to *Edenbrough*, where they found there confederates the *Scottish* Lords, amongst whom the Earles of *Morton*, *Mar* and *Glencarne* were the principall. In the meane while for the better assurance of such couenants, as were agreed-vnto by those Lords (at whose intreaty also this aide was granted) certaine hostages were sent into *England*. The Duke of *Chaceau*, & his adherents of the aduerse party,



partie, hearing of the approach of the *Englishmen*, was latelie departed thence, and had dismissed his armie, hauing first attempted and failed of the taking of the Castell of *Glascoe* with some losse of his men, but more of his honour. The matter of greatest importāce atcheeued by the *Englishmen* and *Scots* there associates, at this iorney, was the taking of *Hamilton* Castell, which was presētly raised. The towne of *Lithquo* (which had bin a great enemy to the Kings party) at the earnest intreaty of the Earle of *Morton*, was neuerthelesse spared, the Dukes house only excepted. Here was the Earle of *Murrey* (late Regent of *Scotland*) despiightfully murdered, by *James Hamilton* of *Bedwell*, for the which it deserued the lesse fauor. But such was the compassion of this worthy Gentleman, ouer the penitent offenders, both now and before, that a *Scottish* writer hath brought him into some suspition of ouer much partiality towards the aduersaries, although the same Author cōfesseth that the *Englishmen* in all this iorney spared neither the goods, lands nor houses of any of the *Hamiltons*, or other that were either suspected of confederacy with the murtherer of the Regent, or had receiued into their protection any of the *English* rebels, especially all along the tract of the riuer of *Cloid*, where for the most part their possessiōs lay. The beginning of the next month, the *Englishmen* returned to *Berwicke*, & the *Scots* their

their confederates, each man to his owne house. Shortly after the *Queene of England* recommending vnto the *Scottish Nobility*, the fidelity and trust, they might safely repose in the Earle of *Lennox*, therevpon by generall consent (where before hee was intituled Lord Gouvernour, or Lieutenant of *Scotland*) they made him their Regent, the rather (as it seemeth) because the Earle of *Huntley* had a little before taken vpon him the Lieutenantship of that Realme, in the name and behalfe of the *Scottish Queene*, & had also summoned a Parliament to be holden at *Lithquoe* in September following. In the meane time the Earle of *Suffex* & the *Lo. Scroope* were sent again into *Scotland*, with certaine bands of horsmen & footmen, to pursue the *English* rebels, where hauing as before made great spoile at *Dumfrees* & other places, as far as the Castell of *Carlauerock* (which they blew vp) after sixe daies they returned to *Carlisle* on the eight and twentieth day of August, where the Earle made these knights for their good seruice at this iorney. Sir *Edward Hastings* brother to the Earle of *Huntington*. Sir *Francis Russell* Sonne to the Earle of *Bedford*, Sir *Valentine Browne*, Sir *William Halton*, Sir *Robert Stapleton*, Sir *Henrie Curwin*, and Sir *Symond Musgraue*. For aboue two yeares after this, no further aide was sent out of *England* by reason (I take it) her Maiesty and the counsell were wholie busied, in the discoverie of the  
secret.



secret and dangerous practice of *Thomas Lord Howard, Duke of Norfolk*, in contriuing marriage with the *Scottish Queene*, for the which hee was now againe the second time (hauing before beene deliuered thence) comitted to the Towre of *London*, where he remained prisoner from the seventh of September till the thirteenth of Ianuary following, on which day he was arraigned in *VVestminster-hal*, before *George Lord Talbott Earle of Shrewsbury* (high Steward of *England* for that day) and there by his Peeres found guilty of high treason, and according to the iudgment passed vpon him, was beheaded on the Tower-hill, betweene seauen and eight of the clock in the morning, the secōd day of Iune in the yeare.

1572. 1572. It was great pittie this good Duke was so bewitched by the *Babilonian Circe*, that man of *Rome*, and his agentes, as that he could not foresee the danger, whereinto he was false by vnder-taking that vnhappy enterprice, who if hee had beene better aduised, might long haue continued a principall pillar of our common weale. On the 22. of August following *Thomas Lord Percy Earle of Northumberland*, hauing before beene attainted of high treason by Parliament, as being one of the principal conspirators in the late rebellion, and now brought out of *Scotland* whether he was fled, was likewise beheaded at *Yorke*, about two of the clock in the after noone. But *Charles Neuill Earle of Westmer-*  
land

land his associate in the said rebellion, finding no safety for him-selfe in *Scotland*, got ouer into the low-countries, where he liued a long time after. While these things thus passed in *England*, the aduerse faction of *Scotland* (who were the fewell of this fire) ceased not in their accustomed manner still to crosse the proceedings of the Lords of the Kings party: for the Earle of *Lennox* enjoyed not the Regencie hardly one yeare, before he and the rest of his adherents, were sodenly set vpon by their aduersaries at *Strineling*, where, before the Earle could bee rescued out of their hands, he was so wounded by the shot of a Pistollet, that hee died thereof the same night. After whose death the Lords made choise of the earle of *Marre* to succeed him in that dignitie. The Queene of *England* still laboured by all good meanes to accord these iarres in *Scotland*, but it would not preuaile, by reason the *French* king neuer ceased to animate and incourage the *Scottish* Queenes partie to stand out, who from the death of the earle of *Murrey* was possessed of the Towne and Castell of *Edenbrough*, the strongest hold and chiefe towne of that realme. For the recouery hereof, the Queene of *England* was entreated by the other party, to assist them with some competent forces. Here-vpon Sir *William Drewry* was once againe sent into *Scotland* accompanied with Sir *Francis Russell*, Captaine *Read*, Captaine *Erington* maister of the Ordinance and Prouost Marshall, Captaine *Pikeman*, Captaine



*Gamme*, Captaine *Wood*, Captaine *Cafe*, Captain *Sturrey*, and *Thomas Barton*, to whose charge was committed one thousand Souldiers, three hundred Pioners, and certaine peeces of batterie, viz sixe double Canons, foureteene whole Culuerings, two Sacres, two mortuis peeces, and two Bombards. Certaine other Gentlemen, accompanied the Generall, as voluntary followers: namely, Sir *George Carie*, Sir *Henry Ley*, Maister *Thomas Cecill* (now Lord *Burghleigh*) Maister *Michell Carie*, *Henrie Carie*, *William Knowles*, *Thomas Sutton*, *Cotton*, *Kelloway*, *Dyer*, *Filney*, *William Killigrew*, *William Selbie*, and others. The Englishmen beeing come to *Edenbrough*, some foure or five bands of the *Scottishmen* ioyned with them, and brought three or foure peeces moe of Artillarie. The footmen hauing without resistance entred the Towne, the Canon from the Castell was sundry times discharged vpon them, but did no harme, saueing by beating vp the Stones in the streete Captaine *Brickman* was thereby hurt in the face. The same day the Castell was summoned by a Messenger of Armes, in maner following.

Sir *William Kerkandie*, some-times of *Grange* Knight. For as much as the *Queenes Maiestie* (my Soueraigne Lady) at the earnest request of her deere Cousin the King of *Scottes* your Soueraigne Lord, made to her Highnesse by his Regent Nobilitie, and States of the realme, after all good meanes vsed by treaty to haue reduced you

you to dutiful obedience of his authority, which hitherto you haue not duly harkned vnto, to the onely hinderance of the vniuersall peace in this realme, by with-holding this his Highnesse Castell, meaning (as it seemeth) to reserue the same for a receptacle of forraine forces, to the manifest danger of this realme, & of my Soueraigne, and therefore necessarily to be in time remoued: for which consideration her Maiestie hath sent her aide and succours of Men, Ordinance & Munition, vnder my charge and leading for the expugnation and recouerie of the said Castell, to the said Kings vse and behoofe. And therefore according to her Maiestes commandement and commission, this shall be in due maner to warne, require, and summon you, that you render & deliuer the said Castell, with all the Ordinance, Artillery, Munition, Jewels, household stuffe, & such other implements within the same to me, to the vse and behoofe of the King your Soueraigne & his Regent in his name, immediatly after this my letter of Sōmons, or knowledge of the same shal come vnto you; which if you obey (as of dutie you ought) then will I, in her Maiesties name, enterpose my selfe to trauell with the Regent, Counsel, & Nobility here, for the safety of your liues. But otherwise if you continue in your former obstinacie abiding the Canon, the looke for no further grace. But you & the rest within that Castel shalbe pursued to the vttermost, & holdē as enimies to his maiesty your owne soueraigne



and Country. Given at *Edenbrough*, by me *William Dreury* Knight, General of her Maiesties forces now in *Scotland*, this 25. day of April in the  
1573. yeare 1573. Notwithstanding this Sommons, the Captaine vtterly refused to yeeld vp the Castell, wherevpon as well the defendants within, as the assailants without, prepared all things where-with on the one side to repulse, & on the other to expulse one the other. But the Cannon was so well applied by the *Englishmen*, that the enemy was forced to a parley, wher-vpō on the third day following, being the 28. of May, the Castell was surrendred into the hands of the Generall, and his Ensigne was erected in sundry places thereof, vntill he deliuered the same ouer againe, to the vse of the King of *Scottes*, together with the prisoners taken therein, namelie *Sir William Kerkaudy* the Captaine, the Lord *Hume*, the Lord of *Ledington* Secretary; the *Leard* of *Peterro* Constable of the Castell; the Countesse of *Arguile*, the Lady of *Ledington* and the Lady of *Orange*. The priuate souldiers & other their seruants were licenced to depart with bagge and baggage. This Castell was neuer before taken by force, the same beeing alwaies thought of such impregnable strength, thorow the naturall scituation thereof, as by no engine and deuice it could possible bee atchieued. But what can now withstand the force of the Cannon, if the same be subiect to battery?

Since

Since that time, now for these thirty yeares wel-nere, nothing of importance hath bin attempted by the one or other Nation, to the breach of the most happy peace and concord betweene them. Though (it may bee) some turbulent and vnquiet spirits, did what they could, vpon the execution of the *Scottish* Queene in the yeare 1587. to incite and stir vp the King her Son, to take offence thereat, not for any good meaning towards his Maiesty, but rather therby to bring him into disgrace, at the least (if not into a further mischief) with the Queene of *England*. But the Lord God did giue his Maiesty grace to carry himselfe more warily. For though good nature might worke in his Maiesty a due commiseration ouer the Queene his mother her lamentable end: yet wel weighing the quality & measure of her offence, the lawfull & orderly proceeding against her, (hauing receiued an honorable trial by sixe & thirty of the greatest and grauest personages of this realme) and considering how much her life afterwards would preiudice, not only the safety of the two royall persons, but withal the quiet estate of the whole Island: the most prudent King wel ore-saw, what wrong he might haue wrought vnto himselfe by entring into any violent course. It was apparent enough to the whole world, how the King of *Spaine*, by his subtile agents the *Iesuits*, neuer ceased while the Queene his Mother liued, vnder pretence to set her at liberty for the aduancement of Popery,

1587.



*Parsons.*

to raise vp sondry wickedly disposed persons, to lay murthering handes vpon Queene *Elizabeth*, or by treachery to bereaue vs of her. This if by any meanes hee could haue brought to passe (from which the Lord God did euer deliuer her) his ambition was such, that hee would vndoubtedly haue done his best to haue set the Crowne of *England* on his owne head, or else haue bestowed it on his Daughter the Infant of *Spaine*, whome a principall member of that seditious fraternity hath since by publique writing intituled vnto it. This was so well knowne to King *James*, as that not long after, his Maiesty gaue commandement by open Proclamation to all his subiects of *Scotland*, to repute and hold King *Philippe* of *Spaine*, as great an enemy to him and his estate, both present and in expectation, as to the Queene of *England*, when in the yeare next following, that his inuincible Nauie (as it was tearmed) attempted the conquest of this Land. But what successe the same had, his Maiesty hath committed to eternall memorie in this his elegant poeie.

*The Nations banded gainst the Lord of might,  
 Prepar'd a force, and set them to the way.  
 Mars drest himselfe in like an awfull plight,  
 The like whereof was neuer seene (they say)  
 They forward came in monstrous array.  
 Both Sea and Land beset vs euery where,*

*Braggs*

*Braggs threatned vs a ruinous decay  
what came of that the issue did declare.  
The windes began to trosse them here and there.  
The seas begun in foming waues to swell,  
The number that escap'd, it fell them faire:  
The rest were swallowed up in gulfes of hell.  
But how were all these things miraculous done?  
God lookes at them out of his Heauenly Throne.*

How truely and Christianly these two most worthy Princes loued one the other, while they lyued together, well appeareth not onely by the continuance of an assured peace and concord betweene these their two kingdomes: but also by the manifold blessings, that haue beene thereby heaped vpon vs their subiects. For when did these two Nations euer before, inioye the like felicity, as they haue done vnder their Kinglie Soueraignty? This may appeare the more admirable, if we consider the sexe of the one, and the longe and dangerous minority and nage of the other. But it hath pleased the eternall God (according to the saying of the Apostle) by the weake things of the world to confound and bring to naught the mighty and powerfull malice of his enemies and ours. For how often haue they both (but especially her Maiesty) miraculously escaped the treacherous attempts of their bloudy aduersary, that Antichristian *Romish* Sinagoge?

*Queene.*



Queene *Elizabeth* hauing liued well neere  
 threescore and ten yeares, and happily raigned  
 aboue forty foure, exchanged ( I doubt not ) this  
 her earthly, and transitory Crowne, ifor an im-  
 mortall and heauenly Diadem, on the foure and  
 1602. twentieth day of March in the yeare 1602. Here-  
 vpon King *James*, not many houres after her  
 death, was proclaimed in *London* (and else where  
 ouer the whole realme, with as much speed as  
 possible might be) the onely lawfull, lineall, and  
 rightfull King of *England*, *France* and *Ireland*,  
 with as great ioy and generall applause of all  
 estates, as the fresh remembrance of the late  
 losse of such a gracious Princeesse, would in true  
 loue and loyalty admit & tollerate in a subiect.

God grant his Maiestie may haue a long and  
 prosperous raigne, and maintaine amongst vs  
 the profession of that vndoubted Christian faith  
 and true Religion, wherein both his Maiestie  
 himselfe, and the young Prince of *Scotland* his  
 sonne ( eight yeares old the nineteenth day of  
 February last ) haue beene baptizd, by and  
 in the name of Queene *Elizabeth*, eight  
 and twentie yeares one after  
 the other.

**FINIS.**

